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Of the original number of Alaskan natives entering the University of Alaska from rural and urban areas, 50% drop out at the end of their freshman year, and less than 2% are likely to receive a degree at the end of 4 years. This high attrition rate is caused by poor elementary and secondary school preparation, and strong personal feelings of inadequacy that are intensified at a campus that is both integrated and oriented toward Western culture. An educational experiment, College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives (COPAN), was initiated in 1964 by the University of Alaska in cooperation with USOE and with grant-in-aid support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It is a special 4-year, 6-week summer program focusing on language development and cultural awareness, and available on a voluntary basis to all native Alaskan high school seniors who meet the university's entrance criteria (high school GPA 2.0 or better). It offers selected courses on Western cultures, informal seminars and discussions, field trips, and living accommodations in Western homes. Counseling is provided to help students resolve transitional problems and develop confidence and competence. The academic survival rate for COPAN students in 1965-67 was 51%, compared to 38.7% for native non-COPAN students. Within this non-COPAN group, drop-out rates have decreased since 1965, indicating a possible increase in academic survival for the entire native Alaskan group. A University proposal for an expanded version of COPAN is included. (WM)

FINAL REPORT
PROJECT NUMBER D-157
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COLLEGE ORIENTATION PROGRAMS FOR ALASKAN NATIVES

COPAN PROGRAM - EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL
JUNE 30, 1968.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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(COPAN PROGRAM - EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL)

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COLLEGE ORIENTATION PROGRAM FOR ALASKAN NATIVES

(COPAN PROGRAM - EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL)

Prof. Lee H. Salisbury

University of Alaska

College, Alaska
99701

June 30, 1968

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HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

PREFACE

It is the intent of this report to synthesize the COPAN program experiences of the past four years in hopes that the insights, observations, and recommendations contained herein will help to improve Alaska native education at all levels. This demonstration project has accomplished its immediate aim: to improve the academic survival rate of its participants. More importantly, it has enabled us to take a fresh look at the aims of western education. It has allowed us to re-examine and question some of the implicit attitudes which have shaped our methodology and curriculum. And it has shown us the dramatic divergence between what we believe we are teaching -- and what is being learned.

The writer wishes to express his thanks for the interest and support extended to this program by the Hon. E.L. Bartlett, Senator from Alaska, and to the many individuals who serve in the private, state and federal schools throughout Alaska who are concerned with the improvement of native education. The cooperation and assistance of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Affairs are gratefully acknowledged.

Although not permitted to mention them by name, the writer also warmly acknowledges the valuable counsel and support of several Bureau of Indian Affairs staff formerly in Alaska who now serve the Department of the Interior on the national level.

Special thanks are extended also to Dr. Harry V. Ball, Professor of Sociology, University of Hawaii, for his invaluable assistance in establishing viable evaluative procedures.

The success of this program is ultimately due to our dedicated staff members, our host parents, and especially to our student volunteers who took an active part in this educational experiment. Through their trust and willingness to discuss their thoughts and feelings, they have enabled us to "see ourselves as others see us." And the image has not always been flattering. At the same time they have been able to gain additional insights into their own search for identity and their progress toward independence and autonomy. They have helped us to appreciate the dilemma which all Alaskan educators face: how to support without crippling -- how to "help" without perpetuating helplessness.

Lee H. Salisbury
Professor of Speech and Theater Arts
(Principal Investigator)

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INTRODUCTION

In the fall of 1967, one eighth of the entering freshman class at the University of Alaska was identified as Alaska native students. As in past years, they came from all over the state: Tsimpsian, Tlingit, and Haida Indians from the southeastern panhandle area; Aleuts from the Aleutian Chain; Athabascan Indians from the Interior; and Eskimos from the Bering and Arctic Sea coast and inland river communities.

The educational, social and cultural backgrounds of these students are varied. Not all are pure-blooded natives. To receive grant-in-aid support from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a student must declare himself to be one-fourth or more of Eskimo, Indian or Aleut extraction. There are, undoubtedly, other students attending the University who have varying degrees of native blood but who have not declared themselves to be "native" because they do not need or want financial assistance. However, the percentage of mixed blood is no index of acculturation: one junior student, a graduate of an Anchorage high school, plays flamenco guitar and recites Ferlighetti with no trace of an accent, yet is a pure-blooded Eskimo. He stands in striking contrast to a blond, blue-eyed, fair-skinned part-Aleut girl from King Cove who speaks with the characteristic native intonation and who mixes only with other native students.

Native students enrolling in the University from de facto segregated boarding schools such as Mount Edgecumbe in Sitka, Covenant High School in Unalakleet, and Friends High School in Kotzebue are likely to be bilingual. Others, who come from integrated high schools in the larger cities, such as Fairbanks and Anchorage, are less likely to speak their native language and may be more racially dilute.

Although it would be difficult to generalize about a group with such varied backgrounds, it has proven possible to make certain accurate predictions: Over 50 per cent of native students entering the University are likely to drop out at the end of their first year. Less than two per cent of the original group are likely to receive a college degree at the end of four years. Out of a group of 50 entering native freshmen, only one is likely to complete the baccalaureate degree at the end of four years.

When one considers that natives ~~in~~ Alaska number almost one-third of the population and that these students are their potential leaders, the gravity of this minority group drop-out problem becomes apparent.

What causes these students to drop out? From a superficial examination of existing data, it might be concluded that entering native freshmen would be better prepared for the competition confronting them in college than would their non-native peers. To reach this educational level, they have already survived an attrition rate of over 60 per cent in elementary school and 52 per cent in high school. Yet, at the college level, these surviving native students are twice as likely to fail.

For the rural native student who enters college directly upon graduation from a boarding high school, the experience is typically devastating. College represents his first integrated school experience and a traumatic introduction to the role of a minority group member. Because of his poor academic preparation and his inability to communicate his ideas and feelings (even within his own group), his self-concept becomes imbued with deep feelings of inferiority and inadequacy every time he meets an academic and social obstacle he cannot surmount. If he is to survive, he is clearly in need of special supports which the standard college structure does not provide.

In response to this special need, the University of Alaska Division of Statewide Services in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education and the Bureau of Indian Affairs initiated a special summer program in 1964 called College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives (COPAN).

The aims of this four year, six-week summer program are:

A. To increase the native student's chances of academic success and social adjustment by:

   1. enhancing his feelings of self-worth by enabling him to understand his original culture and its relationship with the larger society;

   2. helping him to perceive the value and attitudinal contrasts between these cultures and developing the communication skills needed to verbalize these differences;

   3. strengthening his conceptual knowledge of English by broadening his background of direct experience within the Western urban culture;

   4. increasing his understanding of self by helping him to perceive and to verbalize his problems;

   5. fostering the development of native peer support through group discovery and discussion of mutual problems;

   6. broadening his understanding of language and helping him to perceive the functional relationship of its aspects within and to a specific culture;

7. providing temporary academic and social supports which are withdrawn as the student develops his own resources.

B. To provide practical information to others who carry on orientation or accelerated acculturation programs for Alaska natives and other minority groups.

C. To add to the general body of scientific knowledge of the acculturation process and its methods of study.

COPAN procedures include seminar discussions of contemporary native social issues and problems; rooming and boarding with a Western professional family during the six-week program; field trips and visits to institutions illustrating Western urban culture (scientific, artistic, professional); guided reading and motion picture viewing; interpersonal communication and writing -- English language and literature -- team-taught by speech and English specialists; workshop in study skills, test-taking and the use of research facilities; individual testing and counseling; a formal freshman level course in Anthropology (Introduction to the Study of Man).

The central purpose of the program is to encourage the development of self-determination within each student, to enable him to more objectively assess his own capabilities, and to help him realistically view the career alternatives available to him; to assist him to understand the talent and degree of commitment each alternative requires, and allow him to choose freely the one he considers to be most rewarding.

College is seen as the alternative which generates the widest range of choice for him, and affords the greatest opportunity for self-determination. To the degree that this autonomy is developed, he can achieve the advantages offered in the dominant culture -- not as a ward, but as a productive member -- without sacrificing those aspects of his original heritage which have value and meaning to him.

From the data collected over the four year period of this program, it is apparent that COPAN has accomplished what it set out to do. Its students have shown a higher survival rate than their non-COPAN native peers. The dramatic gains in cultural insight and self-worth, which are patent in their written and oral expression, are supported by psychometric data showing increases in personality integration and lowered anxiety levels over each six-week period. Changes in the entering score pattern of COPAN volunteers over the past four years indicate that the program is attracting increasing numbers of high-potential, low-achievers (high ACT-low high school GPA) and helping them to succeed in college.

The findings contain implications for educators of Alaska natives at all levels. The present schooling received by the Alaska native does not permit him to develop the confidence or the competence he needs in order to compete on an equal basis with his non-native peers. His high attrition rate stems from his early linguistic handicaps which are compounded with each additional year of schooling and from non-academic factors (low ego-strength, social adaptability and need to achieve) which depend largely upon his ability to communicate.

Dramatic modifications in curriculum and teacher selection and training are needed if this waste of human resources is to be stemmed. Cross-cultural education requires special perspectives, insights and skills if it is to fulfill its dual role of enculturation and acculturation. Finally, and of greatest importance, is the recognition that the Alaska native people are no longer passive bystanders in this important social process. They have demonstrated their willingness and their right to participate in determining the type of education their children should have.

CHAPTER I.

THE ALASKA NATIVE CONDITION

A. Native Poverty:

Recent national concern has focused itself upon areas of poverty within our country. Through the widespread influence of our news media, the American people have become aware of the depressed state of the negro, the poor white, and the Spanish-American. Yet, relatively little attention has been paid to the desperate economic and social plight of the native population of a state which continues to rank among the highest in the country with respect to per capita income -- the state of Alaska. A prominent Alaskan economist estimates that 71.9 per cent of Alaska native families with income are living in a state of poverty. He discusses the low level of educational attainment, which he considers "both a result of poverty and a contributing factor."

> The 1960 Census reported that 5.8 per cent of white persons 25 years and older had seven years of less education (i.e., dropped out before graduation from primary school) as compared with 68.9 per cent of native persons 25 years and over. With 68.9 per cent of the adult native population having something less than an elementary school education, the hopes are dim for improvement in employment and income for this group through greater participation in Alaska's future economic growth.[1]

With an estimated 13,000 to 15,000 jobless, the Alaska native continues to flounder in the backwash of the state's economic development. The skills which enabled him to survive in his traditional subsistence economy have little carryover value in the world of cash and credit. His prospects, even as an unskilled laborer are dim: One example will show how little promise the rural economy in Alaska can have. In three election districts of southwestern Alaska, with a predominantly Eskimo population of about 13,200, only 1 of 18 natives of 16 years or over had a permanent job in September, 1967. Projections of future labor force and employment by a University of Alaska economist indicate the completion of all foreseeable economic development projects by 1974 will create 156 new jobs per year. The number of natives in the labor force, however, is expected to increase by 269 persons per year during the same period. An unrealistically generous assumption is that half the new jobs will go to resident natives.[2] The implication, then, is that on the most optimistic assumptions, native unemployment in the three districts will increase by 189 persons per year!

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[1] Rogers, George W., "Alaska's Native Population and Poverty" (mimeo., University of Alaska, 1965) p. 6.

Then, considering that the Alaska native represents almost 30 per cent of the non-transient state population, and that recent rates of natural increase -- 4 per cent per year on a statewide level as compared with North America 1.6 per cent, Southeast Asia 2.7 per cent, Europe 0.9 per cent, Southwest Asia 2.6 per cent, Central America 2.9 per cent -- place him among the most rapidly growing populations of the world,[3] it is apparent that he must seek education and training for positions in the urban structure of the Western society if he is to escape his present role of dependency.

B. Isolation:

By most standards, Alaska native[4] peoples can be considered to be among the most isolated ethnic groups in our entire country. Geographically, they are scattered throughout a land mass one-fifth the size of the lower 48 states. Although many native families have migrated to larger urban communities, the majority of them continue to live in small villages ranging in size from 50 to 1,500 persons, along the seacoast and the navigable rivers and creeks. Few of the smaller villages have telephones, fewer have running water, and only a small proportion can pick up a dependable AM radio signal. Most of them are inaccessible by road. Bush plane, dog sled, small boats, or the recently introduced snow vehicles are the chief modes of transportation to and from the settlements. Prior to white contact, many of the northern people were nomadic family groups who followed their food supply -- the caribou herds. With the establishment of churches, missions, schools and hospitals, much of the nomadic movement has ceased. Compulsory education laws have required that families remain close enough to population settlements so that their children can attend school. During the summer, families migrate to their traditional camping spots where a good supply of fish may be caught and preserved for the coming winter. To a great extent, the village people still rely upon hunting and fishing for subsistence.

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[2] In 1967, natives accounted for more than four-fifths of the resident population 16 to 64 years of age, but held less than one-third of the permanent jobs. The districts involved are Bethel, Kuskokwim, and Wade Hampton. Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, A Subregional Economic Analysis of Alaska, Anchorage, 1968. See "Subregion III, Kuskokwim Area," by Arlon R. Tussing.

[3] Rogers, George W., "Preliminary Comments on Alaskan Native Population and Employment Prospects, 1960-2000" (multilithed, Juneau, Alaska: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1964).

[4] This term customarily refers to persons who are one-fourth or more Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut.

Communication between natives living in cities and their non-English speaking relatives and friends in the village is often accomplished via tape recorder. The recipient in the village, if he is too poor to afford a machine, is often allowed to use the one belonging to the school. Because none of the Alaska native peoples has a written language, this new mode of transmitting the spoken word has become extremely important. It may also be in some measure responsible for the preservation of the native language.

However, not all Alaska native languages in a particular area are mutually intelligible. The Tsimpsian, Haida and Tlingit Indian peoples in the Southeastern panhandle speak different languages. The Aleut language spoken along the Aleutian Chain and on the Pribilof Islands, although derived from the same source as the Eskimo, is understood nowhere else. The Athabascan Indians of the northern interior region show profound dialectal differences, and the Eskimo, who represents the largest segment of the native population,[5] may not be understood by his neighbor a few hundred miles away.

Complicating the Alaska native's problem of geographic and linguistic isolation is his cultural attitude toward sharing problems. Many teachers and mental health personnel who work with the Eskimo have noted that he has difficulty in verbalizing and communicating his subjective reactions to situations. When something is bothering him he is unlikely to communicate it even to his friends or to his family. Parker quotes a young Eskimo man who is on the staff of Mt. Edgecumbe High School, the largest U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school, who explains this problem in this fashion:

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[5] Of the 43,081 Alaska natives, according to the 1960 census, approximately 25,000 (over 50 per cent) are Eskimos. The remainder are either Aleuts (1,500) a group closely related to the Eskimo who live on the Aleutian Islands, or Indians (14,444). There are four distinct Indian cultures in Alaska. The largest of these, the Athabascan, number about 8,000 according to reliable estimates, and are the hunting and fishing nomads of the interior region. They are close neighbors to the coastal Eskimos and share to some degree the value system of that culture. The Tlingit (4,000-5,000), the Haida (1,000), and the Tsimpsian (1,000) are located in Southeastern Alaska and live largely by fishing in coastal waters. Culturally similar, these groups have had a long history of Western contact and display the greater degree of acculturation of the Alaska native people. However, their small numbers cause them to constitute less then 10 per cent of the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs enrolled high school population.

> Still another thing that causes trouble sometimes is that the Eskimos, if they have trouble or something is bothering them, they just bottle it up and keep it to themselves and don't tell anyone about it until it gets so bad that it makes them just miserable, and they want to leave. Everyone is surprised because they didn't know it, but they were probably having trouble for a long time. I'm that way myself -- just can't help it. I think that sometimes the Eskimo thinks that if he has trouble, it's for himself. It's nobody else's business. Maybe he is ashamed or afraid to talk to anybody. (Why?) Because he thinks that they wouldn't be interested. He might just be bothering them. He doesn't think his problem is important to anybody else. (How about his parents back home? Does he tell his problems to his parents?) No, even at home I remember it was that way with me. When I had this problem I almost never discussed it with my parents. People didn't do this. You felt the same way as I said, it was your problem and you felt it wouldn't interest anybody else, even your parents. So you kept it to yourself.[6]

This condition adds yet another dimension to his isolation. Not only are his people geographically dispersed without the bonds of common dialect or written communication, but even within the tight familial and peer group structure of his own village he may be isolated with problems he cannot share.

C. Health Problems:

An important contributing factor to the transitional problems of the Alaska native is that of health. The major medical problem among the native peoples of Alaska appears to be tuberculosis. In 1962, Ray[7] found that 51 of the sample group of 1,078 high school dropouts were ex-tubercular patients, while 75 of a group of 991 graduating seniors also had tubercular history. Ray also notes:

> The greater health problem may lie in malnutrition, neglect of marginal eyesight, hearing, and low grade infections which affect the motivation and productivity of students and which lower actual achievement.[8]

In a special summer enrichment program offered at the University of Alaska in 1962 to 48 native pre-high school students from rural schools, it was found that 24 students exhibited a recognizable hearing loss; only one had received any otological treatment. Although no sight examinations were made, symptoms of poor eyesight were patent.[9]

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[6] Ray, Charles K; Ryan, Joan; Parker, Seymour, Alaska Native Secondary School Dropouts. (College, Alaska, University of Alaska, 1962) p. 135.

[7] Ray, op cit, pp. 276, 278.

[8] Ibid., pp. 278, 279.

D. Transition for Survival:

Alaska can be considered to have a minority group problem of unique nature and immense proportions. Unlike ethnic minorities in other states, the Alaska native has not been deliberately segregated from the white population. Rather, he has been isolated from the centers of economic development by his cultural custom of choosing to remain within the region in which his ancestors lived. However, with the pervasive influence of the dominant culture and the subsequent collapse of his hunting and gathering economy, the native has found his survival to depend upon his ability to move and to adopt new ways and skills. He is, inexorably, in transition toward a new culture in which he must find a place. The alternatives are clear: to cling to the old ways no longer viable means poverty and dependency; to adapt and to learn can mean a comfortable and productive life with self-respect and autonomy his ancestors enjoyed as members of their traditional society.

Perhaps the clearest indication that the Alaska natives, as a group, are aware of the alternatives facing them is seen in the dramatic changes in native social organization that have evolved since 1966. Although the Tlingit and Haida Indians of southeastern Alaska have exerted collective political pressure since 1912 through the Alaska Native Brotherhood, natives in the northern parts of the state have traditionally avoided taking group action above the family or village level. Under the impetus of the native land claim question, heretofore politically isolated villages in the North banded together into regional organizations which in the fall of 1966 formed a statewide federation concerned with health, education, welfare and the general advancement of the natives as a whole. The regional organizations, the urban native groups and the statewide federation have begun to assume an active role in state affairs, thereby demonstrating their ability to participate and lead in the process of their own economic and social transition. These recent developments within the native group signal an unmistakable trend toward the realization of individual and group autonomy.

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[9] Salisbury, Lee H., "University of Alaska - Bureau of Indian Affairs Summer Program, Speech Report" (Multilithed, Juneau, Alaska: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1962).

As the Alaska native has taken these first steps toward self-determination, he has become aware of the scarcity of educated leaders among his own group. He is understandably concerned about the quality of education his children are receiving, since they constitute the leadership resource of the future. Educators share this concern as they attempt to adapt the traditional modes of Western education to meet the special needs and characteristics of the Alaska native student. The abnormally high attrition rate of Alaska native students at all levels is a problem which concerns all Alaskans and one which is being attached directly by several organizations, institutions, and agencies.[10]

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[10] The University of Alaska is participating in two programs (besides COPAN) aimed at the educational problems in the state. Upward Bound, funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity, is geared to motivate sophomore and junior high school low-achievers to recognize and use their talents; the Rural Teachers Project, funded by the Ford Foundation, is aimed at improving the quality of teaching materials and instruction in the village schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, the State Department of Education, and the Alaska Federation of Natives are also engaged in improving the standards of education at the village level.

CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND LEARNING PROBLEMS

A. Cumulative Linguistic Deficit:

Current literature which deals with the language and learning problems of the disadvantaged abound with findings which pertain to the problems of the Alaska native. One such finding is what Deutsch[11] has termed the "cumulative deficit phenomenon." Many researchers, in the course of their observations of language development in children, have observed that the disadvantaged child is typically unable to "catch up" or even "hold his own" in language and learning skills as a result of his exposure to the school environment. Hence, his deficiency becomes even more marked as he progresses through school. His ego-strength diminishes with each passing year, and he becomes increasingly likely to become a drop out. The teacher who ascribes the cause to indifference, inability to budget time, or short attention span is dealing with symptoms rather than causes: the student has simply come to school with a background which has deprived him of the cognitive meanings the middle-class child has very likely learned through communication in his environment!

It is obvious that the cumulative deficit must be arrested during the pre-school and early school years, since these are the crucial periods in language and beginning concept development. Some authorities such as Bloom[12] even hypothesize that language deprivation in a child's first four years can have far greater consequences than deprivation from age 8 through 17. The current emphasis upon parental involvement in such programs as Head Start are important steps in early remediation of the language difficulty, and the learning deficiencies which inevitably follow.

It will be years until the benefits of an improved early language-learning program can be seen on the high school or college level. Meanwhile, educators are faced with the formidable task of altering language behaviors which have become firmly established through years of practice. Changes in language behavior at the secondary or college level can only be accomplished through a combination of high student motivation and hard work plus strong teaching strategies.

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[11] Deutsch, Martin. "The Role of Social Class in Language Development and Cognition," (American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1965) pp. 35, 78-88.

[12] Bloom, Benjamin S. Stability and Change in Human Characteristics. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964).

B. Language Versus Action:

Jerome Bruner, et al,[13] notes the contrasts in uses of language between cultures. All men, he believes, have three modes of representing reality: action, imagery, and language or symbolism. Thus, speech is seen as but one mode of communicating and its role is not equally important in every society. In a subsistence culture, action (or showing) is a far more appropriate means of teaching than is language (or telling).

In a complex, technical society, on the other hand, where the teacher and the child are necessarily removed from the action or situational context which carries direct meaning, "telling" or the linguistic code becomes the most important means of communication. This contrast in attitude toward language use is undoubtedly responsible for many of the Alaska native's problems in communicating in a world where words seem to be (and often are) more important than actions.

C. Non-Manipulative Use of Language:

A deeper understanding of the communication problems of the Alaska native can be gained from an examination of the child-rearing practices of the largest Alaska native ethnic group, the Eskimo. The value system in which the Eskimo traditionally operates bears a striking contrast to that of the dominant culture. Whereas in American society strong emphasis is placed upon individual achievement, in the Eskimo world strong negative pressures are exerted upon the assertive individual who strives to excel. Hence, social classes or hierarchically arranged status positions do not exist. In an environment where survival is marginal at best, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of the group is a pervasive fear. Thus, egalitarianism is equated with survival.

From a very early age the Eskimo child is trained to "fit in" to his society. Whereas the Western child is often encouraged to excel, the Eskimo child is trained to conform -- to become "just like the others." This training consists of casual but consistent encouragement in the techniques of survival. Affirmative rather than negative means are used: for example, if a child walks dangerously near a hot stove, or toddles over toward the edge of a swollen river, his elders will say in a friendly fashion, "Tai tai" (or, roughly, "come, come, see what you are doing?").[14]

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[13] Bruner, Jerome S., Oliver, Rose R., and Greenfield, Patricia M., et al. Studies in Cognitive Growth. (New York: John Wiley and sons, 1966.)

Whereas the Western child is taught to believe in a socially acceptable fashion by admonition: "Thou shalt not...." -- or, verbal manipulation, by bribes, or by corporal means -- when all else fails, in the culture of the Alaska native these means of influencing behavior are unknown. A child is educated by example. He receives a cooperative orientation toward life in his society. He watches his elders and his neighbors carefully and he learns from them. He is never consciously "taught". The attitudes and values of his culture are often learned through stories and legends which are allegorical. A girl in the Lower Kuskokwim River area learns through the knife story tradition -- played in the damp mud of the riverbank -- that a very bad thing happened to a girl at one time who didn't listen to her grandmother. The cruelest punishment which can be inflicted upon any member of a tightly-knit subsistence group by his peers or elders is ostracism -- of symbolically murdering the individual by refusing to recognize his existence for varying periods of time -- but the Western convention of the "tongue-lashing" is unknown.

In the village culture, oral communication, while important for the maintenance of day-to-day transactions, is not regarded as a means of manipulating the environment. This attitude toward communication sharply differs from Western use of language: Children in the Western culture quickly realize that their language is a means of influencing the behavior of others and making their way in the world. It is almost regarded by some as a way of defending oneself against a hostile environment. As Brigance notes, "It is almost literally true that good speech has replaced the gun and ax as an instrument of survival."[15]

D. Restricted Versus Elaborated Code:

As many of the foregoing sections have stressed, the language development of the native child depends to an enormous extent upon the mode of communication which his parents employ in relating to him. Vygotsky[16] states that there is a minimal need for language among people who live in close psychological contact. Hence an "abbreviated speech" is all that is needed for communication.

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[14] Oswalt, Wendell. Napaskiak, An Alaskan Eskimo Community, (Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Press, 1963) pp. 42-43.

[15] Brigance, W. Norwood. Your Everyday Speech. (New York, McGraw Hill, 1937) p. 20.

[16] Vygotsky, Lev Semenovich. Thought and Language. (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1962.)

Sapir[17] explains this in terms of group unanimity: "Generally speaking, the smaller the circle, and the more complex the understandings already arrived at within it, the more economical the acts of communication can afford to become." Thus, the communication which takes place between individuals who have common problems and understandings (mother and child, close friends, etc.) tends to be highly implicit, restricted in verbal meaning, and lacking in specificity and disjunctive.

Bernstein[18] calls this abbreviated speech the "restricted code," which he contrasts to an "elaborated code" -- one which is richer in explicit meaning, more flexible, more abstract, and more complex in structure. He believes that the society of the disadvantaged child tends to be limited to this type of communication, which deprives him of a wide range of linguistic possibilities. The middle-class child learns to use both the restricted and elaborated codes depending upon the social situation in which he finds himself. The native child, however, is often caught in a closed society which offers little possibility of influence from outside styles. Thus, the restricted code is often his only available model and he enters the Western school with the higher probability of failure than his middle-class non-native peers. Madsen's[19] observations of native student writing ability indicate that the communication problems of the disadvantaged groups are true for the Alaska native as well.

E. English -- The Code of Dependency:

Not all of the native's communication problems stem entirely from cross-cultural value conflict. The environment of acculturation -- or the Western-native interface -- must also be considered. One such problem is the native's characteristic difficulty in assuming an adult role when he uses English. Several of our students who have noted this problem in themselves have commented upon it. Some of them believe that this is entirely caused by perserveration of their traditional attitudes toward communication: that language is not properly a means of social control or of manipulating the environment. Hence, their use of language is apt to be construed by members of the dominant culture as "childlike" because it seems passive and oblique rather than active and direct. But, other students look to the atmosphere in which they have learned English for additional causes of this problem.

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[17] Sapir, Edward. "Communication," Encyclopedia of Social Sciences. (New York: Macmillan, 1931.)

[18] Bernstein, Basil. "Social Structure, Language, and Learning," (Educational Research. 1961) pp. 3, 163-176.

[19] Madsen, Thomas, "COPAN -- 65 Final Report," p. 7 (see Appendix: "Teaching English to Native Students," p.128.)

Although, theoretically, we regard acculturation to be a two-way process of interaction and adjustment, it is a fact of life that the weaker culture will have to do most of the adapting. In Alaska, the burden of adjustment has been placed squarely upon the native. It is his way of life which is no longer viable and must change if he is to survive in the world of the white man's cash economy.

Because his people had no written language, survived on a subsistence level, and lived in virtual isolation -- never developing the technological amenities which we consider the essentials of civilized living -- his culture was labeled "primitive", and hence, "childlike".

It has been all too easy for the well-intentioned but ethnocentric teacher to regard his mission in Alaska to be one of leading the ignorant heathen to the "light". Western education is perceived as the way by which the student can be helped to rise out of his childlike, primitive state and become an adult, civilized, somehow more "human" being.

Yet, the Alaska native within his own home is treated, from a very early age, in a more adult fashion than are the teacher's own children. His thoughts and opinions are regarded to be inviolable and sacred. Indeed, there is more regard for the integrity of the individual in his culture than there is in our own. Adulthood, with its status and privileges, is not delayed but can be achieved at a relatively early age. But, this way of life is collapsing and the young native must seek adult status on Western terms since it is in the dominant culture that he must survive.

Here he finds himself learning the code of the new culture in a role of dependency. If his parents were unable to provide for his education and support, he receives a free education from his new "parents", the Bureau of Indian Affairs — who, incidentally, may also support his parents as well. English becomes a means of communicating with the paternalistic establishment -- white people in positions of authority who are "helping" him because they know what is "best" for him. Thus, the native student may learn to use his new language as his parents did -- to ask for favors, advice, and assistance of the white establishment. It is a childlike role -- demeaning, but comfortable. It is a form of arctic Uncle-Tomism which many older native people have accepted -- and will continue to practice -- since they can survive in no other way.

The younger generation of Alaska natives who are entering college show encouraging signs of rejecting this dependency. Many of them can recall the humiliating spectacle of their parents being treated as children by the missionaries, teachers, and welfare personnel -- and all too many remember how childlike their parents became because it was expected of them -- every time it was necessary to deal with a white man.

F. Egalitarianism:

Some years ago the writer conducted the language portion of an enrichment program for native students from age 10 to grade 8. One of the questions we asked them was, "What do you want to be when you grow up?" The usual range of vocational choices were elicited -- nurses, teachers, doctors, bush pilots -- all vocations they could see around them. But several of the younger ones still reflected their parents' teaching: "A good seal hunter," said one boy; "A good berry picker," said a girl, and finally, the response which summed it all up: "Eskimo."

To be a good Eskimo means that you stick with your group -- you do not try to excel at the expense of others. In the environment of the arctic where survival is a daily problem, the likelihood of individual achievement at the expense of the group is a pervasive fear. Thus, you live cooperatively or you perish.

Translating this into terms of the Western classroom means that the teacher cannot motivate the student with the rewards which are so successful with middle class white students: praise or prizes often prove to be a source of embarrassment rather than encouragement. Naturally, the Western notion of progress emerging from the "healthy clash of ideas" is in direct variance with the native student's way of dealing with others. If he disagrees, he will not say this directly; it is not polite and it is pointless. He will either seem to agree or he will withdraw. His opinion will not change -- but you will never know this.

G. Fatalism:

Complicating the native student's adjustment problems is his seemingly easy acceptance of defeat. Although the Eskimo strives mightily with nature in order to survive, he is inclined to regard natural forces to be beyond his control. He does not view his future as being capable of change by dint of his own efforts. Hence, long-range educational or occupational goals are not easily perceived by the Eskimo student, who may regard the workings of the academic world to be as mighty and mysterious and incapable of alteration as those of nature.

> "That's one thing about Eskimos. We don't talk about the future with our children. We seem to just let things come along, not like the whites. Why? I don't know. Maybe the Eskimo always feels that he can't do anything about it anyway. What comes will come and you might as well try to make the best of it."[20]

Thus, the fatalistic philosophy of the Eskimo, which has enabled him to survive serenely in the most hostile climatic environment in the world, proves to be a detriment in his new environment which demands new techniques for a different kind of survival.

H. Abstract Conceptualization:

By Western standards, the native seems limited in his ability to conceptualize in abstract terms. This difficulty is noted particularly with respect to his ability to cope with the Western curriculum. Various anthropologists have noted that these people "lack the ability for systematic description,"[21] that they are "very sensory-immediate, concrete and discreet in their ethos."[22] Others have noted their inclination "to remain at the level of literal description of events and behavior and manifest difficulty when asked to discuss motives and emotions or to systemize disparate events."[23] Parker, who studied the people of three villages in 1962, noted this quality of literalness in response to certain projective tests:

> The stories which adolescent Eskimos told after looking at various picture cards contained very meager plot development. For the most part the stories consisted of overt human behavior with no attempt to systematize these discreet impressions into a unified plot. Also, material dealing with motives or feelings of the human actors in these stories was notably absent."[24]

Whether this difficulty in dealing with abstractions is a limitation imposed by the language structure itself or is a natural result of not having written language is a matter of speculation, according to Parker. However, it seems equally likely that this inability to ascribe specific motivations to others stems, in part, from the inbred reluctance to be judgemental. Having learned, as a child, to internalize his own feelings and thoughts, it is doubtful that he would feel free to speculate about the thoughts and feelings of others. To look beyond behavior into its motivation is a peculiarly Western concept, which to a non-Westerner, might seem to constitute an unwarranted invasion of privacy.

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[20] Ray, op. cit., p. 199, Direct quotation by Eskimo informant.

[21] Birket-Smith, Kaj, The Eskimos, (revised edition, London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1959) p. 50.

[22] Kroeber, A. L., Anthropology, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1949) p. 106.

[23] Ray, Charles K.; Ryan, Joan; Parker, Seymour, Alaska Native Secondary School Dropouts, (College, Alaska: University of Alaska, 1962) p. 130.

[24] Loc. cit.

I. Temporal Orientation:

Another basic cultural difference lies in the Alaska native's temporal orientation or attitude toward time. Because of the marginal subsistence level of his culture, he is more likely to require immediate gratification of his needs; to be less able to sustain frustration level for longer periods of time than are his non-native peers. In his early upbringing he is seldom subjected to the rigid schedules which are characteristic of our middle-class white society; he eats when he is hungry and he sleeps when he is tired. In a world in which the future is unknowable, deadlines, schedules, plans and distant goals have little meaning.

J. Attitude Toward Silence:

A final difference which sets the native apart from his non-native peers, is his attitude toward silence. Although our folklore tells us that "silence is golden," we are terrified by it. "Making" conversation has come to be regarded by many as a necessary attribute for the Western social situation. Silences are embarrassing and impolite. Not so with the Alaska native. More often, silence simply indicates that there is nothing to say.

A colleague related the following experience: It was his first day of teaching a speech class which, only coincidentally, was all native.

> "Tom got up to speak and was doing very well. He was talking about the native dormitory issue and was presenting some excellent reasons why he thought one should be built. Then, he suddenly stopped talking. He hadn't concluded his speech, I could tell that. He just stood there with no expression on his face. I am sure that at least two minutes passed without a sound. I found myself thinking of ways that I could step in and get Tom off the hook. Yet, I knew that this was his problem and it would be better if I didn't interfere. I was nearly frantic with worry and began to fidget. Then I looked at the other members of the class. They were watching Tom intently, but were not at all restive. I SUDDENLY REALIZED THAT I WAS THE ONLY ONE IN THE ROOM WHO WAS DISTURBED BY THE SILENCE. They weren't bothered a bit. As I started to relax, Tom thought of another point which supported his arguement, went on talking, concluded his remarks, and sat

> down. I've had students dry up on me before in other schools, but the audience has always gotten so nervous that the speaker had been traumatized by the experience. Not so with this one."[25]

Alaska's largest educational problem is to provide increasing numbers of its native people with the confidence and competence they need to assume their new roles in the larger culture. Educating the young to become productive, happy members of our society is difficult even in mainstream communities, since we live in an age where technological advances make yesterday's curriculum obsolete.

But, this problem is compounded when the student comes from a culture which does not share our Western conceptual base. In this context, the teacher must reach beyond the parameters of traditional Western educational methodology and materials (designed for the mythical, "average" middle-class urban child) and must teach the basic attitudes, concepts, and values upon which our culture rests.

Unless the teacher has somehow acquired a broad cultural perspective (either through personal experience or formal course work), it is unlikely that he will be able to transmit this understanding to his students. For it is only by examining the cultures of other societies that we can fully understand our own. (How many of us did not comprehend English grammar until we tried to learn a foreign language?)

Education for the mainstream student can be defined as an enculturation process: the formal training by which he (hopefully) acquires the skills which his increasingly complex society demands. Because he lives in his own cultural setting (his community -- his family unit), the Western values and attitudes (behaviors) are implicit rather than expressed.

Education for the Alaska native student, on the other hand, is a transitional or accultural process; the formal training which helps him to understand the values and attitudes of the new society he is entering. When he can accept these new behaviors and attitudes, the process of enculturation can meaningfully proceed.

As Dr. George Rogers, an Alaskan economist, has pointed out, the education of the Alaska native is no longer analogous to an individual crossing a bridge from one culture into another. The picture is fallacious because it implies that neither culture is changing. And, the Western culture, in particular, is changing at an almost blinding speed.

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[25] Salisbury, Lee H., "Cross Cultural Communication and Dramatic Ritual", Thayer, Lee, (ed.), Communication: Concepts and Perspectives, Washington, D.C., Spartan-MacMillan, 1967) Chap. IV, p. 81.

A more apt analogy is the concept of an individual walking along a railroad track who tries to catch onto the ladder of a freight train moving at full speed. If he tries to perform this feat without first running along at the speed of the train, he will not be able to jump aboard.

Obviously, the process of "building up speed" in order to make this cultural "jump" is not a matter of acculturation alone; it includes enculturation as well. The two processes are inextricably intertwined and must proceed as one. It is crucially important that the teacher be aware that his role as a cross-cultural educator involves both of them.

CHAPTER III.

NATIVE STUDENT MEETS WESTERN CURRICULUM

A. Elementary School

By the time the native child reaches the age of seven, his cultural and language patterns have been set and his parents are required by law to send him to school. Until this time he is likely to speak only his own local dialect of Indian, Aleut or Eskimo, or if his parents have had some formal schooling, he may speak a kind of halting English.

He now enters a completely foreign setting -- the Western classroom situation. His teacher is likely to be a caucasian who knows little or nothing about his cultural background. He is taught to read the *Dick and Jane* series.[26] Many things confuse him: Dick and Jane are two *gussuk*[27] children who play together. Yet, he knows that boys and girls do not play together and do not share toys. They have a dog named "Spot" who comes indoors and does not work. They have a father who leaves for some mysterious place called "Office" each day and never brings any food home with him. He drives a machine called an automobile on a hard covered road called a street which has a policeman on each corner. These policemen always smile, wear funny clothing and spend their time helping children to cross the street. Why do these children need this help? Dick and Jane's mother spends a lot of time in the kitchen making "cookies" on a strange stove which has no flame in it. But the most bewildering part is yet to come. One day they drive out to the country which is a place where Dick and Jane's grandparents are kept. They do not live with the family and they are so glad to see Dick and Jane that one is certain that they have been ostracized from the rest of the family for some terrible reason. The old people live on something called a "farm" which is a place where many strange animals are kept -- a peculiar beast called a "cow," some odd looking birds called "chickens" and a "horse" which looks like a deformed moose. And so on. For the next twelve years the process goes on. The native child continues to learn this new language which is of little use to him at home and which seems completely unrelated to the world of sky, birds, snow, ice, and tundra which he sees around him.

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[26] The *Dick and Jane* series is being replaced in seventeen schools throughout the State by the *Alaskan Readers*, developed by the Northwest Regional Laboratory, the Alaska State Department of Education, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Alaska Rural School Project at the University of Alaska.

[27] Eskimo term for white person. Derived from the Russian word, *cossack*; the expression is in current use by Indians as well.

In addition, the student is likely to lose his original language in the education process. His teachers do not speak his language nor do they encourage its use during school hours. In many schools students are absolutely forbidden to use the native language. Therefore, many native students come to feel that the language of their parents is undesirable and inferior.

There are often strong pressures from the home for the child to leave school and help his family in its daily struggle for survival. The father needs his sons to help him hunt and fish; the mother needs her daughter to help at home with the children. So it is not surprising that 60 per cent of native youngsters never reach the 8th grade.

B. High School:

By the time the native student from a bush community reaches high school age, it is necessary for him to leave his home and village to attend a boarding high school for four years. Here he lives in a dormitory with other Alaskan natives and his sole contact with the Western culture is through his teachers and his textbooks. When he returns to his village each summer, he finds only vestiges of his formerly comfortable family relationship and he encounters increasing frustrations because of the differences between himself and his village.

His exposure to Western education has taught him to respect (although not necessarily to understand) Western standards and at the same time it has decreased his respect for the native culture. He finds himself, figuratively, with a foot in each culture, unable fully to identify with either group and accepted by neither as well. The male student finds that he is no longer of any use to his father as a hunter or a fisherman; he has lost his status as a male member of his village. The girl who returns often finds the sanitary conditions in the village hard to adjust to. She has lost many of the domestic skills she may have had: skinning animals, cooking, and making clothing. Many of her peers are already married and have children. Her ability to speak English and her new way of dress and behavior set her apart from the other village girls who may think she has become "too good" for them. All of these high school students -- with the exception of the 52 per cent who have dropped out along the way -- are in the process of becoming what the anthropologists term "marginal" people. They have been swept along by an inexorable social process which estranges them from their friends and relatives back home.

C. Point of No Return:

For many of these students high school graduation represents the point of no return. If they have come this far, it is unlikely that they will ever return to the village permanently. Unless they go farther, however, it is even more unlikely that they will be able to secure permanent jobs in the cities to which they migrate. Some of them choose to enter college.

The group of college bound native students who have managed to survive twelve years of formal Western education have obviously had to do some competing in order to come this far. They have had to recognize that by deciding to continue their education they have violated the strong familial and group ties which bind their people together. In terms of their traditional culture, they have acted selfishly and without thought of others. Yet, they believe that by breaking away they can serve their group better. Some of their parents understand this and encourage them to continue their schooling. But for many of them it is a painful decision which is fraught with many misgivings.

The responsibility for aiding the native in his transitional process continues to rest largely upon our educational system. Acculturation is a gradual process which must begin with the earliest school experiences of the native child and develop through a curriculum which is meaningful and rewarding to him. His parents must see the need for such an education and be included in its planning and implementation. When this parental involvement is possible, education is not seen as a divisive force, alienating children from their parents.

The Rough Rock experiment has borne out this theory.[28] The dramatic modification in methodology and materials which the problem demands is, likewise, a gradual process. It can be hastened only by educational experiments with demonstrably beneficial results. Those entering college now must become parents and teachers before the benefits of any compensatory education program will fully mature.

D. Post High School Alternatives:

Upon graduation from high school, the Alaska native student is confronted with several possible courses of action. Although his choice is unlikely to be an entirely free one -- since he is subject to pressure from peers, parents, counselors, principals, teachers, and church leaders --he is apt to view each alternative in terms of its perceived demands and rewards. If his alternatives are (1) entering college, (2) entering vocational school, (3) entering the armed services, (4) moving to an urban area to seek work, and (5) returning to his village, he may examine each with respect to these questions:

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[28] The Rough Rock Demonstration School in Chinle, Arizona is under the direction of Dr. Robert A. Roessel, Jr., and is governed directly by an all-Indian school board. Among its many innovative features is its policy of allowing the parents of its Indian students to visit the school when they wish and stay in special boarding facilities provided for this purpose.

What degree of mental discipline and study is required?

What degree of contact with non-natives is involved?

How much competition with non-natives is expected?

What degree of commitment is required?

How immediate are the prospects of monetary reward?

What is the status value of this course of action?

Although the native student consciously may feel the question to be no more complicated than "Will this choice bring me happiness and satisfaction?", his answer may depend upon his implicit consideration of some or all of the concerns listed above. Thus, the native student might order his range of possible choices with respect to these basic concerns as shown in Figure I.

College is perceived as requiring a high degree of discipline, commitment, contact with non-natives, competition with non-natives, and offering delayed rewards but high status. Vocational school is seen as less threatening with respect to discipline, commitment, contact, and competition with lower status but offering more immediate rewards. The short-term commitment, readily foreseeable goal and the more immediate reward (salaried job) are the salient features of vocational training for some students who lack the confidence and/or competence needed for college work.

For those who are not oriented toward blue-collar work, the distant rewards of college training are offset by the high status value of the undertaking, the challenge of mental discipline and study, and the stimulation of contact and competition with other ethnic groups.

Enlistment is seen as less threatening than college or vocational school with respect to discipline, competition, and commitment with a high immediate reward value. But, perhaps the greatest benefit which draft/enlistment offers lies outside of the range of the above criteria. Although it may seem to represent an avoidance of immediate responsibility, a two- to four-year term in the armed

FIGURE 1.

Demand and Reward Intensity Characteristics of Five Alternate Courses of Action

As Perceived by the Alaska Native High School Graduate

DEMANDS				REWARDS	
INTENSITY OF MENTAL DISCIPLINE AND STUDY	INTENSITY OF CONTACT WITH NON-NATIVES	INTENSITY OF COMPETITION WITH NON-NATIVES	DEGREE OF COMMITMENT REQUIRED	IMMEDIACY OF FINANCIAL REWARD	DEGREE OF STATUS VALUE OFFERED
(High)	(High)	(High)	(High)	(High)	(High)
COLLEGE	COLLEGE	COLLEGE	COLLEGE	VOCATIONAL	COLLEGE
VOCATIONAL	ENLISTMENT	VOCATIONAL	VOCATIONAL	ENLISTMENT	VOCATIONAL
ENLISTMENT	VOCATIONAL	ENLISTMENT	ENLISTMENT	MOVE TO CITY	ENLISTMENT
MOVE TO CITY	MOVE TO CITY	MOVE TO CITY	MOVE TO CITY	RET. VILLAGE	RETURN VILLAGE
RETURN VILLAGE	RETURN VILLAGE	RETURN VILLAGE	RETURN VILLAGE	COLLEGE	MOVE TO CITY
(Low)	(Low)	(Low)	(Low)	(Low)	(Low)

COURSES OF ACTION DEFINED:

COLLEGE: Entering a four-year degree course in a college or university.
VOCATIONAL: Entering a vocational or trade school (Electronic Technician - Mining Tech., Nurses Aide, etc.)
ENLISTMENT: Volunteering or being drafted into a branch of the Armed Services.
MOVE TO CITY: Moving to an urban area (Fairbanks, Anchorage, Juneau) to find work.
RETURN TO VILLAGE: Returning to hometown to help parents, find work, get married.

services provides a broadening social-educational experience for the native Alaskan. The opportunity to achieve a series of short-range goals with immediate rewards in a sheltered, racially-integrated setting seems to have considerable value to the young native adult. Should he decide to enter college upon his discharge, he is likely to show higher motivation, competitiveness, and competence and less dependence upon native peer group support than does the younger native student who enters college directly after boarding school. He mixes more easily with non-native students and seems to relate more positively to his instructors. In short, he is regarded as an adult because he feels so -- and has a higher likelihood of academic success.

Another important factor which contributes to his feeling of self-worth is his new role as a veteran. This entitles him to receive educational support which is not contingent upon his racial status as a "native." He has escaped the onus of dependency. Unfortunately, the number of native veterans who choose to enter college is small. This may be due, in part, to a higher likelihood of marriage and assumption of family responsibility. The incidence of married native students is almost nil.

The two remaining courses of action: move to the city or return to the village, although least viable of the alternatives presented, are, nonetheless, attractive to certain students because they seem less threatening. Return to the village for some students is a way of demonstrating loyalty to the family and friends they have "deserted" in order to attend high school. Family pressure most frequently contributes to this decision to return: mother needs help running the home; father needs help gathering food. Often, there is some likelihood of securing a paying job in the unskilled category, although most village jobs are apt to be seasonal. Frequently, the student finds this return to the old ways of life to be frustrating and decides to leave for greener pastures.

The graduate may choose to move to the city where he knows jobs to be available. Here, again, he finds the unskilled labor positions to be seasonal and in short supply. He may also encounter real or imagined discrimination in hiring since he is now competing with a large pool of unskilled non-natives for these jobs. If he seeks work with Community Action or other self-help organizations, he finds himself competing with other more highly-educated and urbanized natives for these positions. By the time he realizes that his survival depends upon further education, it may be too late for him to do anything about it. Opportunity has passed him by and he is resigned to a life of welfare, alcoholism, and despair in the native urban ghetto.

It is ironic that these two choices, which seem to offer more emotional security to the young native because they apparently require less commitment, contact and competition, actually produce the opposite effect. Contact and competition are unavoidable components of social change which face every young native student regardless of his wish to avoid them. Although they loom more threateningly in certain courses of action (college, vocational, enlistment), they are inevitable in all of the options open to him. Thus, avoidance behavior can be seen as crippling the individual by depriving him of the opportunity to develop survival skills.

E. Reasons for Entering College:

Despite the fact that entering college is seen by the Alaska native as a course of action making high demands and offering little immediate reward (save status), he is entering the university setting in increasing numbers. Four years of COPAN sessions in which native students have examined their motivations for continuing their schooling have shown the following reasons to predominate:

1. You-Can't-Go-Home-Again-Feeling: Many students realize that education has estranged them from their peers and family in the village. If they returned, they would be ostracized for their new ways and attitudes. Besides, there are no jobs available and life is harder.
2. Inertia: It is easier to continue in school than it is to stop. There is security in the student role -- no financial problems because of grant-in-aid support from BIA. Counseling pressure to continue schooling is considerable.
3. Desire for Security: Education means a steady job and a better way of life: for males, the ability to compete with non-natives for attractive native females; for girls, the promise of greater social mobility -- escape from the drudgery of the village female role.
4. Escaping the Discomfort of Marginality: Although being "different" is painful, it can "pay off" with the attainment of a college degree and the self-pride and economic independence it affords. A successful marginal person is respected by members of both cultures. Although he may not be fully accepted by either group, he has the confidence and competence needed to make his own way. Also, he has the support and

understanding of other members of eth-class[29] (college trained natives) whose numbers are increasing every year. Finally, his greater self-insight and understanding in both cultures uniquely fits him for a professional career in cross-cultural work.

5. Intellectual Curiosity: While not as frequently expressed, this reason for learning motivates some native students. It often begins with a desire to know what makes non-natives "tick." This often broadens into a desire to discover the larger world -- how cultures develop and interact. However, this quality is rare in any student.

F. Progressive Commitment Concept:

The native student should view college as a preliminary step in a process of progressive commitment rather than as an irrevocable choice. Upon his graduation from high school, certain options are open to him --several of them quite viable: enrolling for vocational training, enlistment in the armed services, and enrolling in college. Other choices, while more immediately attractive (returning to the village, drifting into urban centers looking for work, getting married) because they seem to offer freedom and variety are less valuable to him in the long run because they limit his range of opportunity.

Of the viable alternatives open to the native student, college has the highest saliency. Even if the student cannot complete the full four-year degree term, he will find that the experience has generated a wider range of choice for him. The time he has spent in college work has not been wasted. On the other hand, if achieving the degree is held to be the only meaningful objective of the college experience, the student is apt to view the four long years of course work as a meaningless ritual leading to a dim, mysterious reward. Other programs which require fewer years of study (electronic and mining technicians), because they offer a quicker reward ($8,000/year), will have far greater saliency. If the student can realize that college study has an immediate value to him at every step -- and that this value is cumulative with every additional semester he is able to survive -- then the higher education process will seem practical and rewarding.

College, when viewed as a series of semester increments -- each requiring a commitment but followed by a reward (wider range of options) -- is not an insurmountable hurdle. As the student develops competence, the work becomes easier and the commitment more firm. His ego-strength increases with each increment of success (passing grades) and reward (realization of his greater potential earning power).

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[29] ". . . the sub society created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class." This term is coined by Milton M. Gordon in his book, Assimilation in American Life (Oxford Press, New York City, 1964).

If college is to attract and hold the able but disadvantaged student, to whom distant goals have little meaning, its short-term, cumulative rewards must be understood.

CHAPTER IV

THE COPAN APPROACH

Part I. Copan Philosophy

Since oral language is not only an instrument of social communication but also the means through which we think and learn, it is apparent that the linguistic handicaps of the Alaska native student constitute a critical deficiency which severely limit his chances of academic success. Intellectual growth in any culture depends upon mastering its linguistic system.[30] The research of other authorities has shown persuasively that the mental processes involved in analysis, differentiation, classifying and planning are dependent upon the development of speech. Thus, it can be seen that language and world-view are inextricably intertwined. One cannot be taught without the other. In light of the foregoing, the COPAN program places equal emphasis upon cultural awareness and language development.

The philosophy of the program is contained in the following assumptions and hypotheses which have in turn determined the form, content and approach of its several components:

1. A language embodies the values, attitudes and standards of the people who have developed it and use it.

2. One cannot fully understand a language unless one understands the culture from which it has emerged and which it expresses. A Westerner who grows up in the mainstream of his society does not perceive his culture in the same way as does a person who is entering the Western culture.

3. Alaskan native students display varying degrees of difficulty in using English and adopting Western ways. Generally, their background of experience within the Western culture has been limited.

4. If the Alaska native student's background of direct experience within the Western culture is broadened in ways which will stimulate him to communicate, his conceptual knowledge of English will improve, his vocabulary will expand and he will use the language more confidently and meaningfully.

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[30] Vygotsky, op. cit.

5. The Alaska native student will gain a deeper appreciation of his original culture and a greater understanding of his adopted one if he is able to compare them objectively.

6. When the student appreciates the cultural contributions of his ethnic group and has a realistic awareness of his own talents, interests, and capabilities, he can begin to develop positive feelings of self-hood and direction.

7. The transitional problems of the Alaska native are common to all peoples who must move from one culture into another. As he studies the adjustment problems of others, the student may discover alternate ways of dealing with his own.

8. The values and attitudes of each culture are embodied within its family units. Experience has shown that acculturation of foreign students proceeds at a more rapid rate when they can live with a Western family unit and engage in its day-to-day activities. The Alaska native student can profit similarily from a Western family living experience.

The COPAN philosophy underlies each of the several aspects of the program. Points 1, 2, 3, and 4 were embodied in the approach used in the Language and Communication classes. Points 5, 6, and 7 determined the focus in the Native Seminar class and the choice of anthropology as the subject of study. Point 6 was reinforced by the Orientation (guidance and testing) sessions and point 8 was reflected in the family living aspect of the program.

Part II. COPAN Structure

A. Anthropology Course

Each student enrolled in the introductory freshman-level anthropology course, Introduction to the Study of Man, which he attended along with other regular summer session students. This provided exposure to a fairly typical integrated college classroom situation. The course, an introduction to cultural anthropology, was taught by an anthropologist selected for his special background in Alaska native cultures.

As a half-time member of the COPAN staff, this teacher also served as a resource person in the afternoon Native Culture Seminar sessions four afternoons a week. In these informal sessions, the general concepts taught in the regular course were specifically related to the culture of contemporary native Alaskans. Because the anthropologist views all cultures, including the Western, with professional objectivity, the COPAN students were encouraged to do likewise. Among the many valuable concepts which this course teaches are the following:

1. The cultures of the world vary widely.
2. Each culture develops attitudes, values, and behaviors which are necessary to its own survival and that of its individual members.
3. All of the world's peoples, despite their cultural differences, share the same basic problems.
4. No culture is better (or worse) than another.
5. Ethnocentrism prevents inter-cultural understanding.
6. "Primitive" and "aboriginal" are descriptive not pejorative terms.

At the end of each session, COPAN students were given a detailed questionnaire (see Appendix p.106) in which they were asked to evaluate all aspects of the program. The replies, submitted anonymously, were typically candid. The following verbatim quotes from these questionnaires (1964-1967) show the special value of this course to the Alaska native student:

> "I found out a great deal about man and his culture that I didn't know before."

"We have to know our historical past to signify our importance along with the rest of the cultures in this world."

"This gives the whites a better chance to understand the Alaska natives. The native students who have this class learn to appreciate their heritage and their State as well."

"...Natives have little (if any) knowledge of their culture and background history. ...I think we should all know of ourselves."

"All of my life I've lived in a small village, where almost sub-consciously I've felt ashamed of being "Native". This summer has helped me to realize (almost) that individuals are important, not for race, but for themself."

"We, or at least, some of us don't know "ourselves" and our background. PS. Is there a subject, Studying Eskimos?"

"[I liked] primitive society and how much understanding of themselves (psychology) they had. How they channel pressure in their society. How they realize their instincts and channel that, too. ...they are much smarter than we think they are."

"Sometimes after thinking about a certain subject that we had discuss [sic] and I had ask questions for my information, I couldn't see much difference in any different people. That, I think, is what I almost came to comprehend."

"I liked the one on the Denbigh Flint Complex. I do not live too far from it. I never knew it to be the place that it was."

COPAN student reaction to the anthropology course has been almost universally favorable. The statements above would seem to indicate that an introduction to cultural study, when taught by an anthropologist who specializes in Alaskan cultures, can provide the native student with uniquely valuable perspectives and increased feelings of self-worth.

B. Native Culture Seminar Sessions:

These informal coffee-hour sessions, originally conceived as a means of synthesizing the concepts taught during the earlier part of the day, underwent considerable changes over the course of the program.

Originally conducted by the program anthropologist and used as a means of relating the general cultural concepts taught in the regular course to the specific Alaska native cultural scene, it tended to become a special tutoring session for the COPAN students. While this function had value to some of the students, many of them felt that general issues, beyond the immediate concern of anthropology, should be discussed.

In succeeding years (1965, 1966, 1967) the sessions were moved to a smaller, more intimate location and all members of the staff were invited to attend. Students and staff moved freely back and forth to the coffee urn and the formal atmosphere of the classroom disappeared. Although at first the students expected the staff to do most of the talking, the staff avoided doing so. In the first few days of each session, students tried to ask questions specifically related to course content -- and the staff dutifully answered them. However, as it became apparent that the staff had no intention of assuming the "teaching" role and leading the discussion, the students began to initiate (albeit tentatively) subjects and problems which had relevance to them. Staff members assumed the roles of resource people, and became as non-directive as possible. Student questions were "answered" by other questions which allowed a spirit of open-ended inquiry to prevail.

The problems and issues discussed soon became wide-ranging. It became apparent that some of the topics under discussion could not be fully explored by the seminar participants alone. Guest speakers were invited to certain sessions at the suggestion of the students. These resource people represented a broad spectrum of vocations and professions. COPAN guests have included the following:

1. A Canadian anthropologist who discussed the status and problems of the Indians and Eskimos in his country.

2. Two Alaska native legislators who provided background for the current aboriginal land claim issue.

3. A Supreme Court Justice who discussed the legal problems peculiar to Alaska.

4. A Bureau of Indian Affairs curriculum director who discussed the history and function of the BIA and the ways in which it is trying to meet its educational responsibility.

5. A white teacher employed by Howard University.

6. A native administrator for the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation who discussed his own adjustment problems while a student at the University of Alaska.

A partial list of topics discussed in these sessions includes:

- Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood
- Alcohol
- Alienation
- Capital Punishment
- Career Choices
- Civil Rights Movement
- Formal versus Informal Education
- God
- Identity
- Impact of Education upon Native Life
- Love and Marriage
- Making Mistakes and Learning
- Male and Female Roles (rural versus urban)
- Meaning of "Native"
- Money
- Native Land Claims
- Parental Responsibility
- Prohibition
- Religion and Superstition
- Rural Teacher Training
- Stereotypes
- Study Habits
- Village Customs Versus State Law
- Village Government
- VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America)
- The Welfare Program.

It was the consensus of the staff that the free atmosphere of the seminar session "liberated" many of the students who were subsequently able to make contributions to discussion in other classes. As soon as the students realized that the staff had no pre-conceptions of "What we wanted to hear" -- that there were no taboo subjects or risks involved in being frank, they began to express themselves freely.

Perhaps the most dramatic example of this new-found freedom of expression was found in a 1965 seminar session dealing with love and marriage. At the height of the discussion a male student vehemently expressed his feelings of frustration at seeing all of the attractive girls in his village growing up, marrying white soldiers and moving away. Other boys expressed similar feelings and one added, "Maybe that's why we're going to college -- so we can compete." Several girls responded with viewpoints which ranged from outright disapproval of racial intermarriage to "it's a matter for the individuals themselves to decide." Others rose to the defense of native girls who marry white boys because of a desire to escape the subservient role of the village female.

The frank expressions of opinion which characterized these sessions illustrate that native students can break through their culture-bound attitudes of reticence and stoicism if they are allowed to operate in an atmosphere which is permissive and conducive to communication.

These sessions helped many students crystallize their feelings and in turn were responsible for much of the "honest" writing which emerged in the Language and Communication class.

C. Language and Communication Class:

1. Developing Communication Skills: The central purpose of this class is to help the native student to improve his ability to communicate within the Western cultural context. For, although he has survived twelve years of Western education (including Dick and Jane), he has not lived within the Western culture. Although he has laboriously learned English, he has no concrete idea of the culture which the language expresses.

The Language and Communication classes use provocative films, readings, and field trips to expand the student's conceptual knowledge of English and to provide relevant new experiences about which he can talk. Student vocabulary improves dramatically when he can see the "things" which the new words stand for. The sessions are taught by a specialist in speech and an English teacher. Writing assignments always grow out of speaking experiences. Provocative films[31] and books[32] are used to spark discussion. For example, The Miracle Worker, the story of Helen Keller's first language experiences, is used as a springboard for the unit on language; Raisin in the Sun, a film dealing with the struggles of a Chicago negro family, is used to explore minority group problems and the process of developing self-image in depressed economic circumstances.

2. Evidence of Conceptual Growth: The native student is often characterized as emotionally repressed and uncommunicative. Although his original culture traditionally reinforces reticence

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[31] Other feature-length films used include: David and Lisa, Twelve Angry Men, Inherit the Wind, Marty, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner (English), The White Reindeer (Finnish/Lapp).

[32] Readings include: Catcher in the Rye, Salinger; The Stranger, Camus; The American Dream, Albee; Death of a Salesman, Miller; and various short stories which deal with the search for individual and group identity.

and discourages dissent, it nonetheless has provided him with a rich background of human experience. The native student has strong feelings and opinions which he has never felt free to express.

Although the class serves as a sounding board for his initial ideas, it is not until he tries to organize and express these ideas in written form that they reach their fullest development. Writing provides the one-to-one communication relationship which time does not allow in the discussion situation. The examples of creative expression which follow illustrate the increased conceptual awareness which has developed among the students during these sessions.

a. Making Mistakes and Learning: The first insight emerged one day during a discussion of Raisin in the Sun. The students suddenly perceived a relationship between Walter Lee's (the protagonist portrayed by Sidney Poitier) problem and their own. The question arose as to whether Walter's old mother, the matriarch of the family did the "right thing" in allowing her son to make an unwise investment of $20,000 in a liquor store. Walter has never had a chance to handle this much money before, is tired of being a chauffeur and wants to change his luck. However, the audience can plainly see that he will lose the money. Two of the students (from a religious mission high school) quickly volunteered that his mother had made a mistake -- Walter was "too innocent" to handle money and "could not be trusted" to handle his own affairs. Other students immediately countered, "But, he's thirty-five years old; he's a grown man with two children," and one girl who had never spoken up before said with great emotion, "How is he ever going to learn unless he's allowed to make his own mistakes?" The class found itself engaged in a full-fledged discussion for the first time. Walter Lee's desperate attempt to "grow up" and assume an adult role had relevance to their own lives.

b. Developing Self-Image: Personal examples of over-protective behavior and its effect upon ego development were cited by the students: "When they don't trust us in high school (boarding schools), we don't trust ourselves." Then came a description of how these rigidly structured schools had never allowed them to make their own decisions..."you bathe at a certain hour"... "you eat at a certain time, you must go to the library at a certain time, you get your mail at a certain time"..." they lead us around by the hand...we want to grow up but they won't let us..." Finally, one student quietly observed, "It's the same thing with our parents... they won't let them grow up either." For "they" one may substitute the government, the schools, the missionaries, in short: the Establishment. From a simple discussion of the domestic crisis in the Walter Lee family had emerged the universal issue of paternalism and its effect upon the development of individual autonomy and self respect.

In the writing assignments which followed the students began to express their real reasons for attending college. A boy from the lower Kuskokwim river wrote:

> "(The) reason I am going..is to help my people...(they) need help because they are losing their right to govern themselves. There is only one person, an Eskimo without a college education, who represents us. There are too many Caucasians who are not capable of representing the Eskimo people fully..."

A girl who had spent her entire life in a religious mission school stated:

> "My most important reason for wanting a college education is to help my fellow Eskimos to assume the responsibilities of running their own affairs in the state rather than to have white people coming from other states and running Alaskan affairs...the pastor practically runs the lives of the villagers. By that I mean the priest is usually the powerful one. Whatever he says, the village without question or objection takes it. I want to help teach the natives to get along and run their own affairs and not always depending (sic) upon the white man for solutions."

As the sessions progressed, the discussions became more free. The staff could observe a physical change come over many of the students. They seemed to stand straighter, to laugh more easily and less self-consciously and to be almost eager to express their opinions. It was as though by being able to express hostility toward certain Caucasians thay had met that they had somehow liberated themselves.

c. Establishment Hypocrisy: The problems of Holden Caulfield, the adolescent protagonist in Salinger's Catcher in the Rye, had a special relevance for many of the students. Despite the fact that the setting of the story was foreign (urban and suburban Connecticut and New York) they could identify with his boarding school situation, his estrangement from his parents, and perhaps most strongly with his judgement that establishment adults are often hypocrites. They began to look at themselves with new eyes. Hypocrisy was not confined to Caucasians but could be found even among their own people. The following character sketch was written by an Eskimo girl about a member of her own community:

THE TWO FACES OF BUD

Bud Anak is the chief of Crab Point, Alaska.[33] Being in that position, he trys to act like a chief, stern, authoritative, and convincing in matter of small village government.

During a council meeting he keeps a straight pondering face, always thinking what improvements can be made for the good of the village. He listens patiently to all arguments and problems then passes a fair judgement. He knows what to do about solving the rising problems of a small village. Briefly, he is the kind of chief that many other villages would like to have because of his brilliant mind in civic affairs. But when not scheduled for a council meeting, he drinks. Yet, when he hears that someone else is drunk, he goes right down to the drunkard's home, drags him out and socks him squarely in the eye for drinking, since the council ruled the village to be dry. Many people criticize him for that. The villagers want him out but he is the only capable man that they can trust in their small civic government.

In another village, when he visits, his behavior is not the same. He goes right to the nearest liquor store, and if there is no such store, he runs to the nearest home where a friend keeps a home brew pot. He then starts drinking with a group of men. Before long he is drunk. When drunk, he often gets into a heated argument during which he swears a lot. The arguments are usually about how many glasses of home brew each had, and about how their wives nag them. One person might say that the other man's wife is a nice woman, but the man's wife usually tells the other to shut up about his wife. The owner of the house usually tells Bud to get the hell out of his place. But Bud usually sweet talks him, in a drunken manner, into letting him stay a little longer, and by allowing him to stay will not do any harm to his family and house. Bud does not make a move to leave until he is dead drunk. Then a kindly man hauls him into his boat and takes him home to Crab Point.

When he is sober, Bud usually stays home and does not leave the house until he wants to drink.

His wife nags and nags him about drinking. He often swears at his wife to stop nagging him. His wife feebly says that she loves him and wants him to improve and to stop drinking. He often sarcastically remarks "If you love me, stop nagging me and leave me alone!"

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[33] Fictitious names are used.

So, he is a drunkard to the friends in the other villages and to his family. He is a stable and good chief in his own village because of his leadership ability. Thus, Bud Anak is one man to one group of people while he is another to another.

d. Communication Between Cultures: Many of the students were able to write insightfully about their own problems in communication. Not surprisingly, some chose the indirect, Eskimo, allegorical form, as did this writer:

TWO BOYS

(fiction)

Two boys were friends. They lived near each other. One boy was from the States, the other was an Alaskan. They lived in a small village. The two usually had fun together, but at times they had trouble getting through to each other.

Like the time they were going swimming. The native boy said he would not swim on that day because the water was not clear. He believed he would surely drown if he swam on such a day. The water was not right. The other boy said where he came from, they swam at any time. But, the native boy would not swim.

One day Mike (the native boy) took his .22 rifle to hunt some muskrat. It was early morning and all the birds were singing. The sun was coming up as he spotted a muskrat far off, near the edge of the lake. He worked his way around the lake so that he could get to where he had seen it. He was in thick brush when he heard the call of the geese not far away. He quickly dropped to a dry spot and watched motionlessly as a large flock of geese flew directly overhead. They were Canadian Geese, flying gracefully in formation, the leader calling out loudly and his followers giving a soft reply to assure him all was well. They were so close to Mike that he could hear their wings whistle as they passed by.

They came from far away, Mike thought, and now they were nearing their nesting grounds. The whole country was theirs, for they could go anywhere they pleased. Mike envied the freedom of the wild geese. Sure, they had their troubles, but if they survived, it was worth it just to be so free from the rest of the world. No complex way of life to live; no certain rules to follow; and no independent thinking. They knew all they had to know.

Mike shot the muskrat he had set out to get, put it with the others in his pack and headed homeward.

> As he neared home, he saw Sam. Sam came to greet him. Seeing the bulge in Mike's pack he asked, "Gee, how was your luck? Tell me about the hunt."
>
> Mike thought of the geese. How could he tell Sam of how he longed to be one of them? How could he put in words what he felt so that this unknowing outsider would understand?
>
> "I saw......................flock of geese," Mike said simply.

The essay contains many levels of meaning. It begins in a halting, abrupt fashion. The swimming incident is described in a very matter-of-fact way. The hunting incident is told in a very different manner. As the writer deals with an experience which is familiar and important to him, his style becomes almost poetic. His feelings about the life of the geese as compared with his own reflect the nostalgia and regret which many Alaska native people feel about leaving their old way of life. This is the way things used to be: "Sure, they had their troubles, but if they survived, it was worth it just to be so free from the rest of the world. No complex way of life to live; no certain rules to follow; and no independent thinking. THEY KNEW ALL THEY HAD TO KNOW." But the younger generation of Alaska natives realizes that the old way of life is changing and will continue to change whether they resist it or not.

e. Intracultural Communication Problems: Another older student describes a breakdown in communication within his own cultural group. Although the syntax is poor, the same elegiac mood is conveyed:

> Almost six years seems to be a long time to be away from King Island. Since then I've been working on mine fields and one time as a garage serviceman. It was little hard to settle back in King Island after all these years, to get new tools made up to carve ivory and to prepare new hunting equipment.
>
> Just before Christmas the young men decorated the classroom in the school building. For a week we held games in the evenings and had a good time. Everytime I was there I noticed a girl eyeing at me. We kept looking at each other all that time. I'd thought that this young lady wasn't just around ten years ago. But, why didn't she do that among people her own age? Did she ever think I may have had other affairs while I was away?
>
> Of course I was getting interested in such a young, attractive-looking girl. Later we got acquainted starting from a card

> game. We waited on a meeting to be left alone by other people, and not be caught outdoors by a person on a porch with my arms around her.
>
> Six months later she refused my inquiry for marriage. I left the village again and heard she had married a young man from down the coast.
>
> A year later I met her again in Fairbanks. She was half-drunk on the streets. There on the roads I tried battling to free my arms from her strong grip. It was raining and people were looking at us from the cars. So I gave up the little struggle and joined her in a bar. She was accusing another girl in the city which was of no concern to me. So all that time it may be that our trouble is communication which is too late to be solved now.

f. The Generation Gap: An Indian girl from a small river community describes the cultural dislocation of her village and the breakdown in communication between the old people and the younger generation:

> The insomniacs, poor troubled beings, stare out into the mind-lit dark room, worrying -- fretting about the days past and future. They listen to their mates or (to their) fortunately innocent babies sleeping -- hoping above hope that their innocence will never be torn away. God! Please rest their weary bones.
>
> The old people hang onto their ways ...their lone, sad drum beating in the artificial lit community hall. They dance and sing -- their brittle bones creaking -- hoping their children and grandchildren will feel and do their ageless form of communication. Weeping silently when they see them watching indifferently or taking snorts of false courage to help them find the mood. God! How they weep silently and try to keep dancing ... weary old people ....
>
> The modern age is setting in ... and in its wake -- emptiness.

g. Relevant Problems: The quotations which follow, excerpted from student writing, illustrate the wide range of other relevant problems about which COPAN students felt free to communicate:

A girl, on her prison experience:

> "Jail was certainly better than the conditions of the place that was supposed to be 'my home.' ...All at once I saw a bird fly past the window. As I watched it go out of sight, I felt like a trapped animal."

Another girl, reminiscing (in poetry form) about her prior attempts at suicide:

> "...More pills, then a calm
> I never knew before...
> So beautiful and quiet..."

A boy, on his hometown in May:

> "Everything seems to be suffocating in the long embrace of a season which lasts too long."

A girl, on her transitional problems:

> "All in all, I learned that life is swimming upstream on the rapids. But, in the rapids, there are some quiet pools where you are content until spring comes and floods you out so you have to swim again or go downstream."

Another girl, on the day her brothers and sisters were separated into foster homes:

> "The biggest part of the unhappiness was the look on each little face as they departed from the only place they knew as being 'home' -- whether good or bad. None whatsoever knew what lay ahead. Their future lay in the hands of a person they could not come to like: someone who had taken them from their mother and father."

A boy, on his cultural dislocation:

> "I feel as if I've got a conflict within:
> One: to live as an Eskimo; Two: to get ahead (Progress) and to get an education and a suitable job. And I live a split life: One half Eskimo and one half White. You ever felt like going hunting and living where the air is clear, the water fresh -- and food and shelter a drive, a necessity?
>
> But then, my drive (Necessity) is a well-made cup of coffee -- Supper (Wife) and a comfortable life. Crazy!"

Virtually all native students have witnessed birth, death, drunkenness, and violence within their immediate family or their community. Many have personally experienced extreme hunger, cold, and emotional deprivation. In terms of human experience, they come to college far wiser and more mature than most of their non-native peers.

Perhaps the most exciting discovery the students made in this class was that each of them had lived a life rich with vivid and insightful experiences, and that no part of their lives (no matter how bleak or discouraging) had been "wasted" or was cause for shame. Concern for form naturally developed as the student tried to communicate his feelings.

3. Field Trips: Several field trips were taken in the course of the program which reinforced (or initiated) certain concepts. During the unit on Individual and Group Justice, the students viewed the film Twelve Angry Men, and visited a murder trial in Superior Court. The district attorney and the judge spoke to the group before and after the courtroom visit and found the students to have a good comprehension of the concepts of "reasonable doubt", "burden of proof", and "innocent until proven guilty". These were no longer empty phrases but stood for principles which they had observed in actual operation.

4. Evaluation of Effectiveness: It is the concensus of the staff that the freedom and facility of expression which COPAN students were able to develop in these sessions sharply contrasts with typical native student behavior in the standard English courses offered during the regular academic year.[34] We ascribe these beneficial changes in language behavior among the COPAN students to the following course features:

a. The small class size afforded each student considerable individual attention from his instructors.

b. The student group was homogenous in composition: they shared similar childhood and rural school experiences, had similar problems, attitudes and concerns, and were fairly evenly matched in their ability to speak and write in English.

c. The permissive and non-directive atmosphere of the class, although strange and somewhat threatening to the student at first, when coupled with provocative stimuli (films and readings) to communicate, ultimately encouraged him to do so.

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[34] A comparison is made elsewhere in this report (See Findings and Analysis) of predictive English ACT scores and subsequent English course grades for COPAN versus non-COPAN students. COPAN students showed lower English ACT scores in 1965 and 1966, yet received higher performance grades in their first regular session English class than did their non-COPAN peers. The COPAN group continued to show higher performance grades in 1967, although their ACT score is also somewhat higher as well.

d. Because non-native students (typically more verbal and competitive) were not present, the native student had no excuse to remain reticent and noncommittal. Further, he was more likely to express his anxieties and problems among a peer group with whom he identified and felt secure.

D. Orientation Class:

This class, initiated in the second year of COPAN, was designed to provide the COPAN student with an overview of the university milieu and practice in the specific skills which college work requires. Meeting for one hour, three times a week, the class was taught by a Guidance and Testing staff member. The objectives of the class were:

1. To provide an intensive review of the skills necessary for success in college:
    a. Note taking
    b. Study skills
    c. Budgeting time
    d. Use of the library
    e. Reading skills
    f. Studying for examinations

2. To orient the student to the concept of the university:
    a. Purposes of higher education
    b. Community of scholars
    c. Research (pure and applied)
    d. The role of the student

3. To familiarize the student with University facilities and services:
    a. Library (visit)
    b. Dormitories (visit)
    c. Museum (visit)
    d. Research facilities (visit)
    e. Radio Station KUAC (FM) (visit)
    f. Developmental reading course (lecturer)
    g. Counseling services (lecturer)

4. To help the student to choose realistic goals:
    a. Testing results and interpretation
    b. Vocational and educational planning
    c. Associate and Baccalaureate level programs.

In addition to the generalized information imparted in the class, each student met individually with this staff member to examine his own predictive test scores and to discuss their significance as they related to his vocational objectives. The student was encouraged to examine his career preference in light of his interest and aptitudes (demonstrated and measured) and to decide what course of action would generate the widest range of future choice for him. It was, of course, not necessary or desirable that the student choose a specific career, but, rather, an area of study which could lead to a variety of job possibilities later on. A more detailed description of the tests administered and an analysis of their results may be found elsewhere in this report (Findings and Analysis).

E. Host Family Living:

One of the most valuable socializing experiences which the COPAN program afforded was the home-living aspect of the session. Rather than staying in the dormitory for the six-week period, the student lived with a carefully selected Western family.

Because the values and attitudes of the dominant culture are found within its family units, direct experience as a temporary member of a middle-class professional family increases the student's knowledge of the mainstream culture, broadens his language background, and permits him to widen his circle of friends and acquaintances. By immersing himself in Western living on a round-the-clock basis, he learns valuable social skills, observes child-rearing practices, and acquires an insight into an established western middle-class family unit as it functions from day to day.

In many cases it has been possible to place the student with a family whose father (or mother) is engaged in the profession he (or she) wishes to enter. Some students have religious preferences which are accomodated whenever possible. The pool of available host families which have served during the course of the program represent a wide range of vocations: music, electrical and civil engineering, biology, English, nursing, law, mining, geology, and education. All of the families selected lived on or near the campus.

Although the prospect of living with strangers was threatening to the student at first, he was readily and warmly accepted into the activities of the host family and quickly discovered that he felt "at home". Host parents were encouraged to make their students feel as much a part of their family as seemed mutually comfortable. Naturally, the kind and degree of each student-family relationship differed and depended upon the interpersonal dynamics involved. Some students readily identified with their host family to the extent of addressing its female member as "Mom." Others felt more comfortable in the role of a temporary guest, but developed an avuncular attitude toward the host family's younger children. The majority of students fell somewhere between these extremes. From student reaction to this program component as expressed in the anonymous evaluation questionnaire, it has been concluded that the students find the ultimate benefits of the host-family relationship far outweigh the temporary discomforts of initial adjustment. Some typical reactions follow:

> "I felt at home. I knew I was wanted. I knew I was no burden.[35] There was so much they offered in return. I had some to give back in exchange -- experiences, hometown, family, relatives, etc."
>
> "They treated me as one of the family and I was able to relax and feel a part of them."
>
> "They were a nice family and I wish more people were like them."
>
> "They weren't strangers anymore."
>
> "I will always remember their kindness, consideration, helpfulness and the way they accepted me into their family. They will never be forgotten by me."
>
> "I wish I didn't have to go back home. I want to stay here until I finish college -- then go back home."
>
> "Everything was so pleasant."
>
> "Looking back over the whole summer, I would say that I have changed quite a bit. I think everytime I learn something new I change a little. I'm not really the same person anymore."
>
> "I became a member of their family. I belonged."
>
> "(She was) Not too lenient or strict. Just like a mother."
>
> "I made more friends and I can't remember the friends I met."
>
> "I know that in my years here, I will always have somewhere to go if I ever get lonely. I now have a second home."

It was noted that this experience makes subsequent social contacts with non-natives less threatening to the student. Without this sheltered socialization experience, the native student rarely tries to mix with non-natives. Characteristically, the native student at the University of Alaska follows the self-protective avoidance pattern of most ethnic minorities -- he remains with his own group whenever possible. This pattern is perpetuated by a fear of "strangers" and by strong social pressures within his own group to conform to their ways. Unless the native student has developed sufficient inner security to resist these peer group pressures, he will be unable to cope with the penalty of ostracism which inevitably follows any attempts to socialize outside of the native student group.

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[35] Although many of the host-families were willing to accept COPAN students into their homes without any reimbursement, it was decided that such an arrangement would result in negative pressures upon both parties. Accordingly, each student "paid" for his room and board from his BIA grant-in-aid monies in the amount which dorm housing and food would cost. The knowledge that his presence in the host home was not placing the family under financial strain, mitigated feelings of being a "burden" or (more importantly) being "beholden."

Urban native students or native student veterans are less likely to be susceptible to these pressures because of their previous interaction and competition with non-natives. Thus, students from urban settings who enroll in COPAN are seen as less likely to need this family socialization experience and were offered the option of dormitory residence during the program period. However, many of these students were occasional dinner guests in the host-family homes of their fellow COPAN students and so were able to enjoy the warmth and conviviality of family contact -- and a home-cooked meal -- if they wished it.

It can be seen that the rural COPAN student, by living with a family, had the opportunity to socialize and mingle with non-natives without the risk of social penalty from his own group. He is afforded a glimpse of a home and life he may someday decide he wants for himself. Finally, it allowed him to meet and know people he might not otherwise encounter and increased his ability to interact positively and confidently with people of other backgrounds.

Most parent feedback in meetings throughout the four yearly sessions indicated that this program component is seen to be equally beneficial to the host family as well. Many of them feel that they have gained a greater appreciation of the culture and customs of the Alaska native peoples as a result. Several of the teaching families at the University have gained additional insights into the social and academic problems which confront the native student at the college level. The experience has given them a close personal involvement with the student and an intense concern for his subsequent problems. Thus, an interest in the welfare of the native student has been engendered among the University faculty. The recent development of the associate level curricula, and attempts to improve counseling and advisory procedures signal an increasing awareness of the University of Alaska's educational responsibility to the native students.

CHAPTER V.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Part I. Student Composition and Ability Levels

A. Student Composition:

The COPAN program was available, on a voluntary basis, to all Alaska native high school seniors who were able to meet the University of Alaska entrance criteria (high school GPA 2.0 or better). As Table A shows, the group was predominately female (70 per cent) and rural in background (60 per cent). Among the male group, Eskimos (75 per cent) outnumbered Indians (25 per cent)., and no Aleuts were represented. Among the female volunteers, those of Indian background (51 per cent) outnumbered those of Eskimo (43 per cent) and Aleut (5 per cent) derivation.

Questionnaire responses[36] show that 88 per cent of the COPAN volunteers come from homes where one or both of the parents is completely bilingual: viz., speaks and understands the native language. Understandably, the percentage of bilingualism among the students themselves is somewhat lower: 44 per cent are completely fluent (speak and understand the native language), 28 per cent are partially fluent (understand but do not speak) and the remaining 28 per cent (predominantly urban in background) neither speak nor understand the native language. A point of interest is that 85 per cent of the COPAN students expressed the hope that their children would achieve fluency in the native language.

Of the 53 students who participated in COPAN from 1964 to 1967, 49 entered college at the University of Alaska or elsewhere. Twenty-five of these 49 are still enrolled in colleges and universities,[37] and one has been graduated from the Mining Technology course at the University of Alaska. The COPAN group, to date, shows a survival rate of 51 per cent. (See Table B.)

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[36] A sample of the Speech Attitudes Questionnaire which elicited these responses is found in the Appendix, pp. 15.)

[37] The footnote on Table B, Appendix, p.152 indicates that eleven COPAN students subsequently enrolled in outside colleges and universities. To date, ten of these students have survived. Their higher incidence of survival, when compared with their COPAN peers enrolled at the University of Alaska, can be attributed to a higher degree of self-confidence and competence as evidenced by their willingness to leave the Alaskan milieu and their academic acceptability at other institutions. It is unfortunate that data are unavailable which might permit the high success rate of this group to be compared with their non-COPAN peers who also choose to enter outside colleges and universities.

B. Comparison Criteria:

It was recognized from the onset of the COPAN program that the prime factor which would hamper an objective evaluation of success would be the lack of a control group, owing to the small number of potential volunteers.[38] Indeed, such a control group could have been assembled only if the entire entering class of native freshman had volunteered for the program each year. Naturally, such universal interest in a new and little-known program could not be assumed. However, a steady and significant increase in the rate of volunteering for the program was evident in the years 1965-66-67 despite competition from newly-created War on Poverty summer village jobs (Neighborhood Youth Corps, Grass Roots, etc.). Twenty-seven students volunteered for the program in 1967, although support funds only allowed acceptance of 15 students. Ultimately, 14 students entered the program -- one student being a no-show. This increase from 15 volunteers in 1964 resulted from positive student feedback and improved understanding and support of the program by the administrative and counseling staffs of the feeder high schools.

In the absence of a matched group of native student volunteers, it was determined to observe the academic progress of all native freshmen entering the University of Alaska during the years of the program and to gather data which might show significant differences between these native students who took COPAN and those who did not. Although it was recognized that no firm scientifical conclusions could be derived from this comparison, numerous statistic controls were introduced to allow for accurate analysis of the program within the inherent limitations.

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[38] This condition was described in the original proposal document as follows:

> "The prime determinant for continuing evaluation of success of the program is the consideration that no control group will be available. The number of potential enrollees is small, as is the control over who shall attend. One might take encouragement from a reduction in successive years of the rate of dropout [of native students] from the University and from an increase in the rate of volunteering for the program. These changes, however, will not constitute proof of the effectiveness of our procedure. No indication will ever become available of applicability other than to those who volunteer to enter the course."

The COPAN native students and the non-COPAN native students (or others) who enrolled at the University of Alaska were compared with respect to the following data when available:[39]

1. High School GPA: While not always an accurate index of academic ability, this score indicates the student's ability to adapt to the academic and social environment of high school, and, perhaps, to college.

2. ACT Scores: (English and Composite). Because these are objective indices of academic ability according to national norms, they may be used as predictive indicators of college success.

3. Reading Comprehension Test: Administered to all incoming freshmen to identify reading difficulties. Another predictive indicator of college success.

4. English Grade: The grade each student receives in his first regular college English course. It is a measure of his demonstrated ability relative to other college freshmen (native and non-native).

C. English Ability:

In the Appendix Table C, a four year comparison of predictive scores versus English grade is made for COPAN and other native students enrolled at the University of Alaska. It can be seen that although the predictive scores of the others is higher in 1965 and 1966, the COPAN students receive significantly higher grades in their first regular English class for those years. Only in 1964 does the COPAN group fall below the others in performance. (For several reasons this first program group is considered atypical.)[40] The strong emphasis upon communication skills in COPAN may be responsible for this difference in English performance.

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[39] Owing to some gaps in the freshman testing program for ACT and Reading, it was not possible to gather an identical number of data items for each native student who entered the University of Alaska as a freshman during the academic years 1964-1967. However, each student with a recorded score for a particular item is included in the average for that item. It is for this reason that the N (or number of students averaged) will vary from time to time within a particular year. It should be noted that COPAN students who subsequently enrolled at other institutions of higher learning are not included in these data comparisons owing to unavailability of data items.

[40] A discussion of the student and staff problems which hampered the effectiveness of COPAN-64 is found in Appendix entitled Problems in the Initial Year of COPAN, p. 86.

D. Reading Ability:

Table C also indicates that native students who volunteer for the COPAN program are more likely to be deficient in reading ability as measured by the Reading Test. Whether these students volunteer for the program because they perceive this deficiency in themselves cannot be objectively validated at this time.

E. Comparative Survival Rates:

The most concrete evidence of the success of any special educational program such as COPAN is its ability to increase the students' chances of academic survival. Survival rates for the two groups are directly compared in Table B titled, MOVING SURVIVAL RATES OF COPAN VS. NON-COPAN STUDENTS ENROLLED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA AND OTHER UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES. As the title and the table footnote indicate, this comparison includes all native students enrolling as freshmen at the University of Alaska from 1964-1967 plus those COPAN students who subsequently enrolled at other institutions of higher learning. This table shows the relative survival of each group at intervals of time over the past four years. It also shows the number of students in each group currently enrolled in college and presents a survival average for both groups over the four year period. The average rate of survival for COPAN students is seen to be 51 per cent compared with 38.7 per cent for non-COPAN students. The higher relative survival rate of COPAN students is a consistent pattern for the program years 1965, 1966, and 1967. Only in the 1964 program year do the COPAN students make a poorer showing than their non-COPAN peers. When the poor survival rate of the atypical 1964 group is not included in the overall figures, the increased staying power of the COPAN group versus others is seen more clearly. (See Column Totals 1965, 66, 67 and Average Survival 1965-67).

F. Crucial First Year:

The higher relative rate of survival for COPAN groups can be clearly seen in Chart I (SURVIVAL BY SEMESTERS OF COPAN GROUPS COMPARED WITH NON-COPAN NATIVE STUDENTS) which depicts this comparison on a semester-to-semester basis. Chart I also illustrates that the highest rate of native attrition is likely to occur during the first college academic year -- a compelling justification for a supportive bridge program during this crucial period.

G. Recent Increase in Native Student Survival:

Chart II (SURVIVAL HISTORY OF COPAN GROUPS, etc.) indicates that while the survival rate for COPAN students has steadily increased since 1965, the non-COPAN student group, although having a lower yearly survival rate, is also showing a steady and encouraging increase. In short, the survival ability of all native students has increased during the COPAN period.

Although the general academic ability of entering native freshmen does not seem to be increasing -- at least as measured by standardized tests such as the ACT (see Table C, 4 YEAR COMPARISON, etc.), other factors may be speculated to be responsible for increased survival trend:

1. The morale or self-image of the Alaskan native has steadily improved over the past four years: Emergence of indigenous native leaders and creation of native associations described earlier in this proposal reflect this development.

2. COPAN students have produced a "ripple effect" among other native students and throughout the university community.

    a) Several COPAN students have become active native student leaders on campus and throughout the state. As respected "models" of native student success, they have had considerable influence upon their non-COPAN peers. Some have served as unofficial tutors and counselors for other native students and have helped to keep them in school.

    b. Faculty hosts for COPAN summer students have become increasingly aware of the special academic and social hurdles which the native student faces. Their interest and concern has, in turn, influenced their colleagues and the University administration.

    c. The native student campus organization (THEATA), sparked by COPAN students, has taken an increasingly significant role in campus affairs. Their willingness to assume increased responsibility was recently demonstrated when they requested (and received) the right to conduct native student grant-in-aid interviews. Also they were instrumental in securing the transfer of grant-in-aid funds from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the scholarship fund of the University of Alaska.

Part II. Bi-Variable Comparison

The small number of COPAN students entering the University of Alaska each year suggested another means of comparison using available data. Each yearly cadre of entering native freshmen, for whom complete data were available, were bi-variably distributed into four cells or categories by measured ability as indicated by composite ACT and high school GPA scores. Medians for these criteria were found (see Table D), and each student was placed in the appropriate category cell. Thus, a student with a above-median score for ACT and a below-median score for GPA would fall into the high ACT-Low GPA cell.

Tables E, F, G, and H are bi-variable distribution charts of native students entering the University of Alaska for the academic years 1964, 1965, 1966, and 1967, respectively. This mode of comparison allowed the following factors to be observed:

1. Individual survival patterns within each cell: How does the survival of an individual student compare with others who have similar predictive scores?
2. The measured ability of COPAN volunteers vs. other non-COPAN native students: Are COPAN students more likely to have lower ACT-GPA scores than their non-COPAN peers?
3. The validity of ACT-GPA scores as predictors of native student academic success? Are students in the High ACT-High GPA category more likely to survive? Are students in the Low ACT-Low GPA cell more likely to fail?

A. Table E - 1964:

Thirty of the 44 students compared fell within the High-High or Low-Low cells. Students with High-High scores show the highest overall cell survival rate (OS=46.6 per cent); 77 per cent of the total native survivors for 1964 fall within this cell. COPAN students in this cell show a higher survival rate (CS=66.6 per cent) than do their non-COPAN peers (NS=42.0 per cent). Eleven of the 14 COPAN students measured had low ACT and/or GPA scores. None of these students survived.

B. Table F - 1965:

The 53 students compared equally distributed themselves among the four cells. Three of the five COPAN students for whom data was available fell in the Low ACT-High GPA cell. This

Low-High group had the highest cell survival rate (OS=30 percent) although only 40 per cent of the total native survivors for 1965 fell into this cell. COPAN students in this cell show a higher survival rate (CS=66.6 per cent) than do their non-COPAN peers (NS=20 per cent).

COPAN students do not appear in two of the three remaining categories which show lower overall rates of survival.

C. Table G - 1966:

The 38 students compared distributed themselves fairly evenly among the four categories. COPAN students appear in all four cells and show a higher survival rate in two of them: High-High (CS=50 per cent versus NS=14.3 per cent) and Low-Low (CS=50 per cent versus NS=44.4 per cent). The cell with the highest overall survival rate is Low-ACT-High GPA in which 7 out of 10 students survived (OS=70 per cent). The single COPAN student in that cell did not survive (CS = 0.0 per cent). Next highest in terms of overall survival is the Low ACT-Low GPA cell (OS=44.4 per cent) in which COPAN student success (CS=50 per cent) made a strong contribution.

D. Table H - 1967:

The 24 students compared distributed themselves evenly among the four cells. At the time of this writing (April 1968), all but four students had survived. COPAN students appear in three categories and show a higher survival rate in two of them: High-High (CS=100 per cent versus NS=75 per cent); High-Low (CS=66.6 per cent versus NS= 33.3 per cent) and an equal rate in one of them: Low-Low (CS=100 per cent versus NS=100 per cent). The least successful in terms of overall survival is High-Low (OS=50 per cent) in spite of the strong COPAN contribution (CS=66.6 per cent versus NS=33.3 per cent). Two cells (Low-Low and Low-High) share the highest success rate (OS=100 per cent.

E. Cell Survival Patterns:

By ranking the measured ability categories or cells shown in Tables E, F, G, and H in order of overall survival rate (OS) for each year, as shown in Table I, we may conveniently examine the extent to which cell placement is predictive of academic success.

Perhaps most surprising is the fact that the High ACT-High GPA category does not show a consistently high survival rate. Since the 1964 group, it has shown the lowest success rate in 1965 and 1966, and next-to-lowest in 1967.

Equally intriguing is the fact that the Low ACT-Low GPA category never has shown the lowest rate of survival. From a next-to-lowest ranking in 1964, it has moved up a notch to next-to-highest in 1965 and 1966 and is tied for highest position in 1967.

Of particular interest is the dramatic jump in survival rate which the Low ACT-High GPA group has taken since 1964. It shows the highest survival rate for 1965 and 1966 and is tied for highest position in 1967.

We must conclude from these data that ACT-GPA scores are, at best, erratic predictors of academic success for Alaska native students when considered as a single group.

F. Urban-Rural Comparison:

However, Alaska native student ability, performance and survival may be compared in another fashion. Entering native freshmen can be categorized as rural or urban students. For the purpose of this comparison the following criteria were used:

> A rural student is defined as one who receives his high school education in a predominantly native school. This group includes students who attended federal boarding schools, mission schools, and public high schools in predominantly native communities.
>
> An urban student is defined as one who attends a high school in a city or town which is predominantly non-native in population. Obviously, this category includes students from large urban centers such as Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Juneau. However, it may also include students from smaller communities such as Glennallen, Haines, Nome, and Chugiak.

Using these criteria, native students[41] at the University of Alaska were compared with respect to measured ability and survival. From this mode of comparison, several significant observations emerged.

G. Urban Vs. Rural Measured Ability Pattern:

From the Distribution Table J, it can be seen that the majority of urban native students enter the University of Alaska with higher ACT (composite) scores and lower high school GPA scores than do their rural peers.

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[41] Only native students for whom high school GPA and ACT scores were available could be used in these comparisons. None of the COPAN students who subsequently attended other colleges and universities are included for this reason.

Conversely, the majority of entering rural students show lower ACT scores, but higher high school GPA scores than do their urban native peers.

One can surmise that these differences in typical patterns stem from environmental causes: The urban native student, though he may live in a ghetto or low income setting, is more likely to learn the concepts and skills which a standardized test such as the ACT measures. Yet, his cultural background may prevent him from developing the necessary confidence and competence to compete on an equal basis with his non-native peers. On the other hand, the rural native student, because of the cultural isolation of his village, is less likely to show high performance on standardized tests such as the ACT. However, because his entire school experience has been with a predominantly native student group, his high school grades are likely to be higher. But, unlike his urban peer, this grade point average reflects his school performance with respect to other native students, only.

H. Measured Ability and College Survival:

The comparative rates of survival of urban and rural native students with respect to ACT and high school GPA scores, are shown in Table K. The following observations may be made from these data:

1. Urban native students with High ACTs have exactly twice the survival chances of rural High ACTs, and almost twice the chances of survival of their urban Low ACT peers.
2. Rural native students with Low ACTs have almost twice the survival chances of urban Low ACTs and exactly twice the survival chances of their rural High ACT peers.

From these observations it can be concluded that a High ACT score is a positive success predictor for urban students and a negative one for rural students.

Further examination of Table K reveals that a High high school GPA predicts 38-45 per cent success for urban and rural students and that a Low GPA predicts identical low success rates of 30 per cent for each group.

In summary, it may be concluded that for urbans and rurals, a high GPA is an equally good predictor of college success. But, a High ACT is predictive of success only for urban native students.

Table L (SURVIVAL RATES OF ALL URBAN AND RURAL NATIVE STUDENTS WITHIN ABILITY CATEGORIES) records the relative degree of urban-rural student survival within each measured ability cell. It also isolates the COPAN student contribution to the total (all) survival rate of each cell. (Because of their short term of college experience to date -- one completed semester -- native students who entered the University of Alaska in 1967 are not included in this table.)

Table L reveals that after the 1964 year, rural and urban students who conform to their respective typical measured ability patterns show the highest rates of relative survival. Thus, Low ACT-High GPA (typical pattern) rurals show the highest rate of survival as do their High ACT-Low GPA (typical pattern) urban peers.

Table M shows the cell performance of COPAN versus non-COPAN students for these years in simplified form. Empty cells marked with an X indicate that no COPAN student and/or non-COPAN students appear in that particular category.

In the thirteen cells in which the contest occurred, it can be seen that COPAN students showed higher survival in five cells, equal survival in five cells, and lower survival in the remaining three cells. This is a fair indicator of the success of the COPAN program for natives enrolled at the University of Alaska.[42]

I. Yearly Differences in Cell Composition:

Table N (DISTRIBUTION OF COPAN AND OTHER NATIVE STUDENTS AMONG ABILITY CATEGORIES 1964-1967) indicates that COPAN volunteers are found among all measured ability categories. Only in 1965 and 1967 do we see exceptions. In 1965, no COPAN students entering the University of Alaska appear in the High-High or Low-Low cells; in 1967, none appears in the Low ACT-High GPA cell.

Yearly differences in cell composition with respect to COPAN/OTHER and RURAL/URBAN can also be seen. In 1964, COPAN students are heavily represented in the Low-Low cell, whereas OTHERs (non-COPAN) predominate in the High-High cell. In 1965, entering COPAN students predominate in the Low ACT-High GPA cell and OTHERs continue to dominate the High-High cell. In 1966, COPAN students are almost equally represented in all cells but the Low ACT-High GPA category in which the smallest percentage appears. Roughly, the same distribution of OTHERs may be observed for 1966, excepting that the highest percentage appear in the Low ACT-High GPA cell, and none are present in the Low ACT-High GPA cell.

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[42] As indicated previously, these data do not include COPAN survivors at other colleges and universities.

students who might not otherwise have considered a college career. In light of the present lack of indigenous, college-trained leaders among the native people, COPAN can be seen to be making an important contribution toward identifying and training future native leaders.

L. Non-Conformity with Cell Success Patterns -- A Unique Case:

It is unfortunate that because of the small numbers involved, COPAN success or failure within a particular cell may depend upon the performance of one student. A glaring example of this may be found in the Low ACT-High GPA rural cells in 1966. The sole student in the COPAN cell did not conform to the success pattern found in the ALL cell. Yet, it was clearly apparent to the COPAN staff during the 66 session that the severe personality problems which this student manifested would rule out any chances of college success. The student proudly admitted in counseling sessions that he had cheated and plagiarized his way through high school. When confronted with the fact that this behavior might result in his expulsion from college, he was unimpressed. Despite advice to the contrary, the student enrolled at the University of Alaska (he could not be refused admittance because of his high GPA), continued to try to "beat the system" and, when threatened with expulsion, enlisted in the armed services. It was subsequently discovered that this student's father had been ostracized and finally expelled from three consecutive villages for "aggressive" behavior. It should be noted that this student is a unique case among native students.

With improved recruitment procedures, which allow intensive pre-college interviewing of students and their counselors, it should be possible to identify such aberrancies and suggest alternate courses of action. Had such recruitment procedures been possible in 1964, many of the COPAN students, who were subsequently discovered to have profound psychological problems, would not have been accepted into the program, and hopefully, might have been counseled into postponing their entrance into college.

M. Conformity with Cell Success Patterns -- A Unique Case:

The only female survivor of the 1964 COPAN program is found in the High ACT-High GPA urban cell. The ALL cell for that category shows it to be the high success category for that year. It was immediately apparent to the COPAN staff that this girl would have no social or academic difficulty in college. Coming from a highly urbanized, successful, part-Indian background, she displayed a high degree of self-confidence and academic competence. It came as no surprise that she subsequently appeared on the Dean's List in her first semester and has remained there ever since. Yet, she represents another quite unique case -- a native student who has

In 1967 an interesting change occurs. Almost half of the COPAN students are found in the High ACT-Low GPA cell and none are represented in the Low ACT-High GPA cell. Curiously, the largest percentage of rural COPAN students is seen to occupy the High ACT-Low GPA cell, manifesting an ability pattern (as discussed later in this report) found to be more typical of urban students.

J. The Changing Profile of the COPAN Student:

Translating some of these data into chart form enables some trends to be observed: Chart III (PERCENTAGE OF COPAN AND OTHER NATIVE STUDENTS WHO SCORE IN HIGH ACT-GPA CATEGORIES) reveals that the percentage of students among the COPAN group with high ACT scores has increased each year. This increase cannot be attributed to staff selection, since all volunteers were accepted into the program every year excepting 1967, when lack of funds limited the large list of volunteers to 15. Moreover, personal recommendations of counselors and principals were weighted more heavily than were predictive scores which, in many cases, were not available at the time of selection.

The OTHER group shows a reverse trend. The proportion of High-ACTs among this group has shown a steady decrease from 57 per cent in 1964 to the present level of 39 per cent. This phenomenon may reflect that native students with High-ACT scores (who do not volunteer for COPAN) are choosing to enter other schools -- vocational schools which have a shorter term of commitment and higher immediate payoff, or other colleges elsewhere. Chart III also shows the proportion of COPAN students with low GPAs to be steadily increasing since 1965 (from 40 per cent in 1965 to 67 per cent in 1967). The OTHER group has maintained a fairly stable ratio of High to Low GPAs throughout the entire four year period -- with High GPAs slightly preponderant.

K. Changing Profile -- Conclusions:

The relatively small size of the COPAN sample and its resultant tendency toward statistical instability prevents any firm conclusions from being drawn from its data. Yet, it is apparent that the measured ability profile of the average COPAN volunteer has changed considerably since 1965. Since "volunteering" must be defined as mild pressure to attend, exerted by guidance counselors and principals, this development reflects a change in their perception of students who should be encouraged to attend college.

In 1965, COPAN students consisted mainly of low ACTs but high GPAs, indicative of successful high school socialization. In 1967, students with low GPAs (low achievers) but high ACTs are being encouraged to attend. Thus, COPAN was reaching and motivating been able to perform in the top five per cent of her entire class during her entire college career. Had intensive pre-college interviews been possible during 1964, she could have been identified as a student who did not need the COPAN experience, and her place might have been filled by another native student with college potential but with less confidence/competence.

It can be seen, therefore, that in the two unique and widely divergent cases cited, that subsequent academic performance did not depend upon exposure to the COPAN experience. It is the intent of the improved recruitment procedures proposed to identify and exclude such students from COPAN.

Part III. Psychometric Findings in COPAN (abstract)[43]

A. Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale:

The forty-four rural students enrolled in COPAN during the four years of the Program's operation were pooled for the WAIS subtest analysis. The Digit Span Test was the only one on which the COPAN student performed less well than the normative sample. It is to be expected that this group of freshmen would excel a national cross section of 18 and 19-year-olds because university students represent a somewhat select group with respect to general abilities. The sample group showed a mean verbal IQ of 109 and a mean performance IQ of 110. This difference is not statistically significant.

B. Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale:

A decrease in mean anxiety score was noted during the three years of the Program for which data were available (1965, 1966 and 1967). However, a t test failed to indicate a statistically significant before-after mean difference. Nonetheless, these results are clearly consistent in direction, if not in magnitude with those of the Q-sort's positiveness of self-concept and the real-self-ideal-self correlations noted below. Worthy of special note is the fact that anxiety scores did not increase during this period of exposure to a relatively competitive, urban academic setting.

C. Semantic Differential:

Since the same twelve stimulus words were used in the before-after administrations of this test in each of the four program years, the data for this entire period were summarized and two kinds of summary analyses were employed.

D. Analysis by Dimensions:

This type of analysis compared the mean rating for each dimension of each stimulus word before and after the six week orientation.

E. Analysis of Inter-Stimulus Distance:

This compared the before and after distance between each pair of stimulus words in three-dimensional semantic space. Thus, the active-inactive dimension is represented along the horizontal plane, from side to side; the good-bad (evaluative) dimension is the depth (front to back) dimension of this plane, and the vertical dimension (up-down) of the figure represents the potent-impotent semantic meaning. The distances between each of the 66 pairs of stimuli in three-dimensional semantic space was computed for each subject at the beginning and the end of the program.

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[43] The entire report, Psychometric Evaluation of COPAN, by Dr. Gerald S. Hanna, is found in the Appendix, pp. 130-150.

Findings from the use of Semantic Differential during the four-year period are somewhat ambiguous. While the findings of the before-after dimensional mean changes appeared to indicate more undesirable than desirable change, the results of the before-after inter-stimulus distance changes were interpreted as predominantly desirable. Many of the objective findings of the dimensional analysis lend themselves about equally well to divergent contradictoryinterpretations. This ambiguity, coupled with the small size and resultant instability of the 53 subject-sample, limits the value of the interpretations represented.

F. Q-Sort:

This technique, as described in the Psychometric Evaluation of COPAN, was utilized during the last two summers of the program. Two kinds of findings are revealed.

1. Positiveness of Self Concept:

This measure increased by a non-significant magnitude during both years of administration. However, this trend is highly consistent with the trend noted on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale and certain inter-stimulus decreases noted on the Semantic Differential. These strongly reinforce the conclusion that self-concept improved during the students' exposure to COPAN.

2. Correlational Analysis:

This mode of measurement revealed that the correlation between the real-self and the ideal-self was greater at the end of the program than at the beginning. Although this change did not quite reach statistical significance, it is strikingly consistent with the findings from the positiveness of self-concept, the Semantic Differential and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. These diverse kinds of evidence all point to the conclusion that personality integration increased during COPAN. Four other changes reveal that COPAN students grew to perceive themselves as less like typical village youth and more like typical city youth over the course of the program. This increased identification with typical dominant-culture youth, moreover, has been obtained with relatively small cost of decreased identification with typical village youth. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that this shift of real and ideal self-perception toward the dominant culture and away from the native cultures occurred during the six-week period during which personality integration evidenced improvement.

Part IV. Decreasing Dependency

An inherent danger in any compensatory education program is that it may increase rather than reduce the dependence of its participants. With each successive generation born into a culture of dependency, the feelings of hopelessness and inferiority become increasingly more difficult to erase.

The native student who is born into an impoverished family living on welfare, has never known any other condition. As he grows older, it does not take him long to realize that, although he may be an Indian or an Eskimo, he is a "native" and, as such, is treated differently than other people with different physical features. He has his own school, hospitals, and social services, staffed by well-meaning, sincere people who "help" him to make the "right" decisions. Unless he accepts this support unquestioningly, he may come to wonder, as did one COPAN student in Seminar class, "If we aren't inferior, how come we need all this help?" It is not surprising that the Alaska native peoples have ambivalent feelings toward the various agencies which serve them.

Although the COPAN program has demonstrated that its participants achieve greater academic success in college, it has not attempted to measure in any systematic way the extent to which their self-image subsequently improves and a sense of their own autonomy emerges. We have some unsolicited evidence[44] from several COPAN students who are currently "succeeding" in the college milieu, which indicates that COPAN does not necessarily prolong dependency.

The views expressed by these few students may be said to typify the feelings of individuals who have achieved some measure of success in college and (although they may themselves have received "special" supports in the past) now no longer want or need any special consideration. They feel, justifiably, that any program which causes the native to feel "different" (inferior) is destructive

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[44] The following comments are abstracted from a letter in which several former COPAN students (all college survivors) express their current feelings about compensatory education programs such as COPAN and Upward Bound:

a) Native students are tired of being accepted mainly because they are "native." They wish to be accepted in college because of their abilities which are revealed through high school records and entrance exams. They want to enter the mainstream of college life directly without any "special" preparatory programs.

b) Native students do not feel that their academic and social handicaps differ in any way from those of the non-native and demeaning. Thus, they reject the supports which are available to them (and to all other natives) because they discover that they, themselves, can proceed independently and successfully without them. In simplistic terms, they are saying to other college-bound native students, "I made it, why can't you?", and their solution to the problem of native academic attrition is essentially a philosophy of "sink or swim." This is a middle-class ethic typically held by those members of our society who have achieved the competence and confidence necessary for survival.

In expressing this philosophy, regardless of its merits, these students are demonstrating that dependence need not be self-perpetuating and that feelings of self-worth increase as competency develops. This limited evidence suggests that the relationship of feelings of autonomy with the development of actual competence is worth further, more systematic study. In the meantime, we can say with certainty that increased dependence is not a necessary consequence of the COPAN program.

44(cont.) students. Special courses and programs make them feel "different" from other students and stigmatize them as being "native."

c) If the native student is deficient in English then that is his fault. Make him learn English like all the other students - through the "bonehead" (remedial) course. Forget about teaching English as a Second Language. That gives the connotation of being "different" again. If he can't catch up with the help of "bonehead" courses, he never will. So why help him in the first place when he cannot succeed with the existing programs available to him?

d) The native should earn his way through college by scholarships and jobs. The grant-in-aid (Bureau of Indian Affairs) program is free, but this gives them that stigma again.

e) The anthropology class studies native cultures, and this also emphasizes their being "special." Why should they be made to feel like "different" people again?

f) If there are students who want to learn how to interact with non-natives, then those more experienced (native) students should help them. This way you will get those who will really succeed, and can spend more time with only those that are interested. Those who do not show interest should not have been allowed at the University anyway. The only reason these low-achievers (sic) were accepted in the first place is because they are "native."

CHAPTER VI.

THE FUTURE OF COPAN

Part I: Conclusions and Recommendations

Although an objective evaluation of COPAN is hampered by the lack of an experimental-control group design, as many statistical controls have been introduced by means of cross-classification as the data permit. Thus, the analysis of findings in the previous chapter has followed a statistical model insofar as it has been possible to do so. Considerable subjective data have been included in order to provide the reader with a "feel" of the program as well as an additional means of evaluating its effectiveness.

On the basis of the evidence presented in the foregoing chapters, the following assertions can be made:

1. COPAN students display a higher college survival rate than do their non-COPAN native peers. This higher rate of survival cannot be attributed to any preferential selection of COPAN participants.

2. Psychometric summary analysis of the various instruments employed during COPAN indicate that student personality integration increased and anxiety level decreased during the program period.

3. In the three years of highest COPAN survival (1965-66-67) the students also showed higher English grades than did their non-COPAN native peers. Enhanced language performance increases the likelihood of academic survival for the native student.

4. The steady increase in the rate of volunteering for COPAN since 1964 is a strong indication of COPAN's increasing acceptability to the native student. This trend is especially noteworthy in light of the keen competition posed by newly created summer jobs in the villages.

5. Urban and rural native students show typical predictive score patterns: Urban students are typically High ACT-Low GPA; rurals are typically Low ACT-High GPA. Native students who conform to the predictive score pattern for their group show the highest rates of relative survival.

6. COPAN is attracting increasing numbers of rural students with non-typical score pattern: High ACT-Low GPA. Despite the fact that this atypical pattern is predictive of failure

for the rural student, they have shown a high survival rate. Thus, COPAN is seen to be motivating high potential (ACT) low achievers (GPA) toward college and helping them to succeed.

7. COPAN has lowered its students' inhibition level and improved their communication ability. Examples of their oral and written expression included in this report sharply contrast with the tentative and oblique responses which characterize the larger group of native university students.

8. The honest and vivid writing of COPAN students constitutes a large body of subjective evidence that:

   a. All native students, despite early childhood reinforcement for reticence, have strong pressures to communicate their thoughts and feelings to others.

   b. Communication is meaningful when it deals with issues, problems and concerns which have personal relevance to the student.

   c. Specific communication skills can be taught when the student is ready for them: viz., after he has something to communicate.

   d. Improved ability to communicate with honesty and directness is accompanied by a significant and observable improvement in self-concept and confidence.

9. The survival rate of the non-COPAN native students, although it does not equal the rate of COPAN students for the past three years, is showing a steady and measurable increase.

10. The improved survival rate of the non-COPAN native students is, in large measure, attributable to the "ripple effect" which COPAN has produced at the University of Alaska:

    a. COPAN students have sparked the leadership of the campus native student organizations and caused them to take an increasingly supportive role.

    b. COPAN students have assumed individually supportive roles, serving as unofficial tutors and counselors for other native students.

    c. COPAN faculty host parents have become increasingly aware of the academic and social problems which beset the native student. They have shared this concern with their colleagues and the administration and have had considerable influence upon University policy.

11. The survival rate of the entire native student group at the University is increasing despite a small but steady decrease in academic ability as measured by composite ACT scores. This phenomenon suggests that native student dropout is attributable, in large measure, to non-academic factors not easily measurable by existing instruments. These factors include personality components such as ego-strength, social adaptability, and the need to achieve.

12. The period of highest native student dropout occurs, typically, during the freshman year. If social and academic supports, such as COPAN has provided, were available to students who needed them during this crucial period, this attrition figure would decrease.

13. The ultimate goal of any supportive program is to enable its participants to achieve a greater degree of personal autonomy; to "help" without perpetuating helplessness. COPAN has increased the confidence and competence of its students without maintaining or increasing their dependency.

From the statistical and subjective data accumulated during this four year demonstration project, it can be concluded that the COPAN approach is valid and viable. The program has accomplished what it set out to do. Not only has it served to increase the survival rate of its participants and, indirectly, the college success of other native students, COPAN has, additionally, shown ways in which Alaskan native education can be improved at all levels. It has demonstrated that communication and self-concept are inextricably intertwined and must be taught as one.

The examples of student writing included in this report contain important implications for the Alaskan educator: As vivid expressions of native student problems and attitudes, they provide rich insights into the painful but inexorable process of cultural transition. They represent the beginning of a free and open dialogue between native and non-native which must continue if Alaskan education is to improve.

They illustrate, further, that the climate for learning and communication depends upon the degree of mutual trust and respect which develops in the classroom. When the student is able to speak and write exactly what he feels and thinks without fear of disapproval from his peers or teacher, then the exciting process of free communication and honest feedback can begin. It is obvious that much of the deeply personal writing which the students produced during the COPAN sessions could not have been elicited in the standard English class. Yet, it is clear that this kind of self-expression not only helps the teacher to understand his students better, but it also provides the student with a valuable approach toward insight and self-discovery.

The COPAN program has undergone considerable revision in form and content since its inception in 1964. Many of the changes which have contributed to the success of the program have resulted from student and staff suggestions. However, several major modifications also proposed by the students and the staff were impossible to implement within the limitations imposed by the original contract budget. These modifications include: improving recruitment procedures, extending COPAN support throughout the first academic year and tightening program evaluation procedures.

The University of Alaska is presently engaged in developing an expanded version of the COPAN concept which would include these features and would allow more native students to participate. An important consideration which will determine the form that this expanded program would take is its relationship to existing, presently funded programs such as the Upward Bound project, now entering its third year of operation on the University campus.

The proposed program, incorporating the major modifications noted above, would take the following form. For the sake of convenience, the program is labelled COPAN II.

PART II -- COPAN II, An Expanded Program

Program Duration:

Summer Orientation Session: 6 weeks
Academic Year Bridge Session: 36 weeks

A. Recruitment and Eligibility:

Enrollment figures indicate that 43 native students entered the University of Alaska in the fall of 1967. It is fair to estimate that, by the time of funding, at least 50 native students from feeder high schools will be intending to enroll at the University. Since the intent of the expanded recruitment program is to identify all native high school seniors with college potential and encourage them to consider a college career, this entrance figure may prove to be conservative. For these reasons, it is expected that the new program as proposed (COPAN II) would be able to accommodate 25 native students with a matched control group of an equivalent number.

This matched control group feature will allow a more rigorous evaluation of program effectiveness to be made than was possible for COPAN 64-67. (See Evaluation.)

Under the new recruitment procedures, the COPAN director and the testing staff member would visit each feeder high school in early spring to address the native seniors and explain the features and requirements of COPAN II. Following this general address, all interested students would be screened and evaluated by personal interview, conferences with appropriate counselors and teachers, and observation of the student's performance in one of his classes. All students who show evidence of college potential and who wish to attend the COPAN summer session would be tested with certain standardized instruments and informed that they will receive word as to acceptance into COPAN a month prior to their graduation. Other data for each of these students is gathered from high school records which, when added to the testing data, will provide the criteria necessary for assembling the matched groups. (These criteria are described under Evaluation.)

At the end of the recruitment visits, the total group of COPAN II potential enrollees would be divided into two groups matched according to certain criteria. Students in one group will be informed of their acceptance in COPAN II and will be asked to indicate their wish to accept with all possible speed. The second (control) group will be informed that they have been accepted as alternates, and will be informed if any openings occur. Past experience has shown that volunteers often decide to accept a summer job and withdraw from the program, weeks and even days, before the summer session begins. This new procedure will provide a reserve of matched alternates who can be accepted as these openings occur. The "dropout" would then become a member of the control group.

Although all Alaska native high school seniors are eligible for COPAN, whether from urban or rural backgrounds, recruitment will focus primarily upon rural students, since they are characteristically more likely to need the enrichment and support which a program of this type affords. As in the past, some urban native students will be accepted into the program, but its composition will consist primarily of native students from village backgrounds.

B. Room and Board Arrangements:

1. Summer Session:

Urban students will reside in University residence facilities and will take their meals in the common dining facilities. A student counselor (COPAN upperclassman) will live in the dormitory and will serve as an informal advisor to the group.

Each rural student will be housed and fed (with the exception of lunches) in a private family home. In the event that suitable housing is not available some students may live in the dormitory. Participating families will be chosen in advance by the program director. The following criteria will apply:

a. It is preferable that each family should consist of a husband and wife and one or more children. Couples with grown children may be selected in unusual cases.

b. Both parents should be in residence throughout the entire length of the program.

c. The family should be interested and sympathetic with the aims of the program, and be willing to cooperate with the program staff to aid in the reinforcement of student learning and in counseling problems. The family will receive remuneration in the amount usually required to support a student during the Summer Session in the dormitory with meals.

2. Academic Year Bridge Session:

Commencing in the fall semester, the entire COPAN group will reside in the University residence halls.

C. Summer Session -- Class Schedule (6 weeks):

Introduction to the Study of Man: (Anth. 101, 3 credits) meets regularly for 1-1/2 hours each day. Staff audits.

Alaska Native Culture Seminar: meets regularly four times a week for one hour. Staff audits and participates as needed. Guest lecturers and resource people invited when appropriate.

Language and Communication: (English 68 Elementary Exposition, 3 credits) meets regularly 1-1/2 hours each day. Staff audits. Taught by English and Communication specialists: includes readings, discussions, debates, reports, direct experiences: films, field trips, cultural events.

Orientation and Study Skills: meets regularly 1-1/2 hours daily, three times a week. Lectures and discussions led by various University staff: Dean of Students, Vice President, Registrar, Student Affairs, etc. Applied study skills -- taking notes, studying for examinations, library use, etc. Taught by Guidance and Testing staff member.

One overnight recreational trip to Mt. McKinley National Park with staff and students is planned for the second weekend of the session.

Individual Testing and Counseling: each student meets 1/2 hour three times each week with Guidance, English and Communication staff members. Individual tests (WAIS, etc.) administered once to each student during six week period. Group testing (Semantic Differential, Q-Sort, etc.) scheduled as needed, before and after session.

D. Academic Year Bridge Session -- Class Schedule (36 weeks):

All COPAN students who decide to enter the University of Alaska in the fall are included in this fall-spring component as undeclared or interim status students. During this supportive period, they would decide upon a major field of study and whether to proceed on the Baccalaureate or Associate level. Each student would enroll for a common core of courses, taught by COPAN staff members who would also serve as their academic advisors. Their class schedules would appear as follows:

Fall Bridge Session:

English 101	3 credits
Speech 68	2 credits
Anth. 201	3 credits
* Seminar	2 credits
Phys. Educ.	1 credit
Elective	2 credits

Total load 13 credits

Spring Session:

English 102	3 credits
Speech 111	2 credits
Psych-Soc. 101	3 credits
* Seminar	2 credits
Phys. Educ.	1 credit
Elective	2-3 credits

Total load 13-14 credits

*Seminar would carry associate level credit -- meeting twice weekly for one hour. Taught by COPAN director and staff, seminar would have the same intent and structure as Native Culture Seminar in summer session, but would make more rigorous academic demands upon the student -- formal reports, papers, etc.

This core structure insures that the native student will maintain continuing day-to-day contact with his COPAN advisors who can offer special advice and help when the need arises. If, at the end of the first semester, the student feels sufficiently confident and competent to take a full load, he is allowed to phase out of the bridge component and enter the regular freshman track.

E. Evaluation:

With the new recruitment procedures, it is expected that a sufficiently large number of native high school graduates will be available to fill COPAN II and a matching control group. These two groups will be matched according to certain criteria, yet to be decided upon. From past experience, the following factors seem to be crucial in determining college survival:

1. Sex of the student: Female students, despite good academic performance, often drop out of college to get married. (Ten of twenty-five COPAN females in COPAN 64-65-66 are married and no longer in school).

2. The individual student's need to achieve: No instrument presently exists which attempts to measure the student's motivation and drive to succeed. It is proposed that the staff testing specialist develop such an instrument which would meet the peculiar cultural problems of the setting. With the advice and counsel of the interested native students on campus and with appropriate revision year-by-year, such an instrument might prove to be a more reliable predictor of native student success than are the conventional tests currently in use as the ACT and SCAT.

3. The cultural group and/or degree of native blood of the individual student: The fragmentary data available would suggest that such questions as these be investigated: Are Aleuts more likely to succeed in college than Eskimos or Indians? Does the presence of one non-native parent in the home increase/decrease the student's likelihood of academic success:

It is expected that other, more conventional predictors of success will be used as well: ACT, high school GPA, and possibly the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Test.

Since the two groups, rather than specific individuals, within the group will be matched, there is no necessity to have an identical number of students in each group. An analysis of covariance will provide a means of taking into consideration that the groups are not perfectly matched in the beginning, yet will allow a valid comparison between the before-after gains of the two groups.

Attitudinal changes will continue to be measured using revised forms of the Semantic Differential and the Q-Sort tests. These tests will be administered to both groups before the summer program, after the summer program, and at the end of the first and second semesters of the academic bridge year.

PART III -- COPAN II Description

A. Summer Orientation Program (6 weeks):

1. The student will gain insights into his own culture and its relationship to and differences with the Western culture through daily seminar sessions with the program director and his staff (English teacher, testing-guidance counselor). The anthropologist participates as a resource person to relate the general cultural information taught in the regular morning class to the Alaska native cultures and to describe certain cross-cultural phenomena.

2. The student will broaden his background of direct experience with the dominant culture by living in a private home and by taking part in a series of field trips.

The student who comes from a boarding school will be placed in a private home on or near the campus. Religious preferences of the student are honored whenever possible. The pool of available and trained host families represent a wide range of vocations and professions (music, electrical engineering, biology, English, nursing, law, mining, geology, education) thus affording the student the possibility of residing with a family in the field he wishes to enter. During the six-week period of the program he will be regarded as a member of the family in whose home he stays. He will eat breakfast and the evening meal with this family group, and will be included in all family activities on weekends which do not interfere with the scheduled program activities. Thus, he will be able to gain insight into an established Western middle-class family unit as it functions from day to day. Feedback from COPAN students over the past four years indicates that they find this family living experience to be enjoyable and rewarding. (Criteria for family selection and reimbursement will be found under Room and Board Arrangements.)

Students who come from urban settings are generally more acculturated to the Western social setting and are less likely to need this family socialization experience. Accordingly, such students are afforded the option of residing in the University dormitory for the program period. There they receive a practical introduction to dormitory living, and the independence it affords. Many of these students are frequent dinner guests in the host-family homes of their fellow COPAN students. Thus, they are able to enjoy the warmth and conviviality of family contact if they wish it.

Visits and field trips will be chosen to increase conceptual knowledge of Western urban culture. Vocabulary building will be a natural result of these experiences which might include:

pre-school (Head Start) or primary schools (Rural Teacher Training Program Laboratory School) to illustrate child-rearing practices and patterns of child development; cultural events (art exhibits, lectures, plays, recitals) to illustrate Western artistic values and the ways in which the audience expresses its acceptance of these values; satellite tracking station, zoophysiology laboratory, arctic aeromedical laboratory, to illustrate the breadth and reach of Western man's scientific quests and the concepts of research (pure and applied); professional and artistic people at their work (native and non-native artists, journalists, writers, attorneys) to illustrate their techniques of achieving gratification and the problems they encounter.

The atmosphere will be that of an adult anthropological field trip with a scientific, rather than a "tourist" spirit.

3. The student will be helped to a greater self-understanding by guided reading, writing, and motion picture-viewing.

   a. In the Language and Communication class he will read and discuss books, plays and short stories which deal with the individual search for identity. (Catcher in the Rye, The Stranger, The American Dream, Death of a Salesman, How Beautiful with Shoes, etc.)

   b. Feature-length motion pictures which deal with psychological and social adjustment will be shown and discussed. Films such as Raisin in the Sun, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner, Inherit the Wind, Miracle Worker, David and Lisa, Twelve Angry Men, have proven to be provocative and insightful selections which produce valuable discussion and thoughtful writing.

   c. The student participates in classroom dramatic exercises, wherein plays are read aloud and acted out. Dramatic ritual will be presented as a universal human experience -- whether the material be Eskimo/Indian dances or Western dramatic literature -- it is the means by which man mirrors himself and celebrates his condition. Improvisation will be utilized when appropriate.

4. The student will develop a broader view of the functions of language.

Man's need to communicate is basic. The manner in which he does so depends upon his particular cultural background. Although he communicates through spoken language, he may also employ dance, pantomime, music, art and perhaps writing. Some of these media are more permanent and lasting while others are immediate and transitory. The enduring media of expression are the means by which a people transmit its cultural heritage to future generations. Language is structured according to cultural needs. In the Eskimo culture, for example, where survival depends upon hunting ability and group cooperation, a language develops which is inextricably entwined with the crucial concerns of the society -- it embodies their philosophy and attitudes and reflects their values. It has developed in a specific cultural context and can be understood only as a part of this context. "Language is, perhaps, the most explicitly structured aspect of human behavior, intimately influenced by culture and, conversely, intimately influencing patterns of thought within a culture."[45]

Therefore, English comprehension and usage must be learned by the Alaska native student as a natural outgrowth of direct experience and readings within the Western culture which stimulate him to communicate. The provocative films, books and trips which the native student encounters in this program have proven to be fruitful sources of discussion and debate. Written work in the form of essays, short stories, and biographies have emerged from these experiences which clearly illustrate that the native student can write directly, honestly and movingly about subjects which concern him. He can communicate effectively when he has something to communicate "about." The language aspects of the program are developed and administered by the program director and his assistant, the English teacher, with the consultation and advice of the guidance and testing counselor and the anthropologist. Individual counseling and assistance in language problems as they arise are offered.

5. The student is provided with an actual college classroom experience with directed use of the University facilities. From the time of his arrival at the University, the student is treated as any other summer sessions student: he goes through the regular registration routine, fills out the usual forms

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[45] From an interview with Dr. Michael E. Krauss, Professor of Linguistics, University of Alaska.

and performs the customary chores which entering the University requires. In addition, he receives an audiometric examination, a Snellen test, and a tine test or chest x-ray to determine whether he has a hearing, vision, or respiratory disability. He then enrolls in the freshmen level anthropology course, Introduction to the Study of Man, and the language and communication course entitled Elementary Exposition, which carries Associate level credit. He receives appropriate academic credit for both courses upon satisfactory completion of course requirements. The anthropology course is taught by the COPAN anthropologist, but is open to all summer session students. Thus, the student meets and competes with other non-native students in a typical freshman level class. The anthropologist meets separately with the program students and staff in the daily seminar sessions described elsewhere in this proposal.

The student is introduced to the use of University facilities through the daily orientation sessions taught by the guidance and testing counselor. These include the library, the registrar's office, the comptroller's office (from which he draws his weekly pocket money), the office of the Dean of Students (counseling and scholarship information), and the Summer Recreation Office (from which he can obtain athletic equipment and recreational activity information). Students who live in host homes are introduced to the dormitories (where some of their fellow program students reside) and the campus dining facilities where they take their daily lunches.

6. The student will develop deeper self-knowledge (and greater self-determination) through information and counseling which will:

   a. enable him to assess his own capabilities (objectively),

   b. assist him to view realistically the career alternatives open to him,

   c. help him to understand the talent and degree of commitment each alternative requires, and

   d. allow him to choose freely the one he considers most rewarding.

   Predictive information derived from individual (WAIS) and group tests (ACT), is interpreted to each student in private counseling sessions. Career alternatives are presented and explained in terms of the aptitude and commitment each requires. The student is encouraged to examine his career preference in the light of his interest and capabilities and to decide which course of action will generate the widest range of choice for him. It is not necessary or desirable that the student choose a specific career, but, rather, an area of study which can lead to a variety of jobs later on.

B. COPAN Bridge Session (Fall-Spring Academic Year, 36 weeks):

Each COPAN summer session student who chooses to enter the University of Alaska in the fall has the option of remaining with the group throughout his freshman year. During this period he enrolls in a core of typical lower-division courses which carry credit applicable toward the basic requirements of the undergraduate degrees. He attends these classes along with other non-COPAN students who enroll in them. Although his program schedule resembles that of a typical entering freshman, it has these important differences:

1. His credit-hour load is lighter than that of the typical freshman: fall semester = 13 credits; spring semester = 14 credits versus the usual 17-18 hour freshman load.

2. His classes in English, speech and social studies are taught by COPAN staff members who have worked with him during the summer program.

3. His academic advisor is one of these staff members.

4. He continues to meet in seminar discussion sessions with COPAN students and staff. The course carries academic credit (associate level) and is devoted to group discussion and individual investigation of contemporary problems which have relevance to the group.

Thus, the native student continues to maintain the close day-to-day contact with his COPAN peers and teachers, and continues to receive strong support from both groups. The esprit which develops among the students and staff during the summer session is able to persist and grow throughout the crucial freshman year. Most of his classes are taught by teachers whom he has come to know and trust -- people with whom he can communicate. In turn, they know and understand him and can offer individual assistance and guidance at the time it is needed.

During the Bridge Session, the student's academic advisor (in consultation with the other COPAN staff members) continues to help the student to discover the area of study in which he is likely to have the greatest chance of success. The elective option in the core plan encourages the student to sample other curricula which interest him. Thus, while he is developing confidence and competence in the sheltered environment of the core courses (English, speech, anthropology, psychology), he is able to reach out and try other areas of study without the risk of over-commitment and academic failure.

Although the entering native student is likely to need the support of such a program throughout his freshman year, he has the option of leaving the program at mid-year should he prove to be no longer in need of the special help it affords. Careful counseling and evaluation of student progress by the staff should ensure that a student who develops sufficient ego-strength during the first semester will not continue to accept the shelter of the program when he no longer needs it. Thus, the COPAN Bridge Session is designed to provide the entering native student with intensive academic and social support which decreases as the student develops his own resources. However, it is important that the student realizes that the ultimate decision to hasten or terminate the weaning process is his to make.

C. Objectives:

The aims of the College Orientation Program for Alaska Natives are:

1. To increase the native student's chances of academic success and social adjustment by:
    a. Enhancing his feelings of self-worth by enabling him to understand his original culture and its relationship with the larger society.
    b. Helping him to perceive the values and attitudinal contrasts between these cultures and developing the communication skills needed to verbalize these differences.
    c. Strengthening his conceptual knowledge of English by broadening his background of direct experience within the Western urban culture.
    d. Increasing his understanding of self by helping him to perceive and to verbalize his problems.
    e. Fostering the development of native peer support through group discovery and discussion of mutual problems.

f. Broadening his understanding of language and helping him to perceive the functional relationship of its aspects within and to a specific culture.

g. Providing temporary academic and social supports which are withdrawn as the student develops his own resources.

2. To provide practical information to others who carry on orientation or accelerated acculturation programs for Alaska natives and other minority groups.

3. To add to the general body of scientific knowledge of the acculturation process and its methods of study.

PART IV. -- The COPAN and Upward Bound Programs

As previously noted in this report, the general goals of COPAN and the more recently established Upward Bound program are basically similar. Each program is designed to assist its participants to discover themselves and to motivate them toward meaningful and productive roles in society. Both programs are centered around a core of enriching experiences. However, the programs also differ in several respects:

1. Upward Bound focuses its concern primarily upon low achievers at the sophomore and junior high school level. Promising seniors are readmitted only if they have attended previous Upward Bound programs.

   COPAN is designed to serve the college-bound high school graduate only.

2. Upward Bound is open to all disadvantaged students, native or non-native. Hence, it is broadly concerned with the academic and social problems of this disparate group. Although its composition is predominantly native, its program is designed to appeal to all of its participants.

   COPAN is open to native students only. Thus, it has been able to focus directly upon the linguistic and social problems which are relevant to this group. As noted previously in this report, much of the success of the Language and Communication class and the Seminar sessions can be attributed to the homogenous nature of the student group. Because they share a common pool of experience which is uniquely theirs by virtue of their Alaska native background, they also manifest similar problems, attitudes, and concerns. Perhaps their largest area of anxiety lies in trying to define their relationship (as a group and individually) to the larger, dominant, non-native culture which surrounds them. It is obvious that many of the deeply personal expressions of feelings which characterized these closed sessions could not have been elicited if non-native students had been present.

3. Upward Bound is not primarily concerned with preparing its students for college. Approximately one-third of those finishing the program enter trade schools, nursing programs, or secretarial courses.

   COPAN's primary aim has been to prepare its students for college work. Two of its components (Anthropology and Language and Communication) carry college credit. Forty-nine of the 53 students who participated in COPAN subsequently entered college.

4. Upward Bound identifies disadvantaged students while they are still in high school. Its winter term follow-up component, which allows its students to continue their relationship with the staff through field visits, provides valuable support in the last crucial years of high school.

   COPAN cannot reach the disadvantaged native student until his senior year. Unless the student can meet the minimum college entrance requirements, he is not eligible to enter the program.

While each of these programs contain features which are uniquely beneficial to its students, each has inherent limitations as well. Upward Bound can provide valuable support and motivation to students while they are still in high school, yet it cannot accept college-bound seniors unless they have come up through its program. COPAN is specifically designed to prepare native students for college work, yet it must limit its enrollment to high school graduates who can meet college entrance criteria and who wish to enter college. To date, neither COPAN 64-67 or Upward Bound has been able to provide its students with any formal program of continuing academic and social supports during the crucial freshman year of college. Lack of an experimental-control group design is another limitation which is common to both programs.

If the features contained in the proposed COPAN II program could be implemented, and added to the present Upward Bound program as a post high school college preparatory component, many unmet educational needs could be served. All college bound natives could be accepted into the summer college-prep track regardless of prior Upward Bound experience. Host family housing would be available to rural students with no prior campus experience. Urban students and rural Upward Bounders would have the option of family or dorm accomodations. The few non-natives who might choose to enter this program would reside in the dormitories and would attend all classes except the Native Culture Seminar and the Language and Communication Sessions. These students would have other course options or activities open to them during these periods. As the sessions progress and the native students develop confidence, these urban non-natives might be invited to attend certain classes in which issues which have relevance to them are discussed. However, it is important that they be excluded from the early sessions, if free and relaxed communication is to develop.

Implementation of the recruitment and testing procedures would assure continuing objective evaluation of program effectiveness and would, additionally, provide further valuable research in the field of native education.

The academic year bridge component would provide optional continuing support for all summer session college-prep students regardless of ethnic background. It is expected that these later seminar sessions will focus less upon parochial native concerns and more upon broader current issues. In this context, a racially-integrated group is desirable and beneficial.

It is important to reiterate that any compensatory education program must contain the seeds of its own destruction. It must not only assist its participants to lead more meaningful and productive lives, it must also work toward solving the problems which have caused it to exist. As a stop-gap measure, it is meaningless unless it has a research capability which proves its viability to other educators who are concerned with the same problem. Educational reform can be hastened only by bold, innovative programs which have demonstrably beneficial results. Sweeping changes in methodology, materials, and teacher preparation are necessary if the present drain of Alaska native human resources is to be stemmed. Much can be learned from the pragmatic survival philosophy of the Eskimo which has enabled him to accept innovation so gracefully: "If it works better, I'll try it!"

APPENDIX

PROBLEMS IN THE INITIAL YEAR OF COPAN

In 1964, the initial COPAN program, due to eleventh-hour funding by the U.S.O.E. was faced with certain problems in staffing and student group composition which were to prove detrimental to the success of that first year. These problems ultimately gave way to solutions which strengthened the cohesiveness, direction and success of subsequent sessions.

Until word of federal funding was received in late May 1964, the program (in abbreviated form) was advertised among Alaskan schools as an orientation program supported jointly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the University of Alaska. Student volunteers had been recruited in equal numbers from rural and urban schools. The COPAN staff had no opportunity to personally interview these students or their counselors. A preponderance of these students were subsequently discovered to belong in the low ACT-Low GPA category when compared with their native freshman peers the following fall. Three of the urban students had marginal high school records; two were admitted to the University on probational status because of GPA's of 1.01 and 1.82, respectively. Four of the students, additionally, were discovered to have had serious emotional and social problems during their high school years. However, the largest factor which prevented group cohesiveness lay in the widely divergent backgrounds, interests, and attitudes of the two student groups: rural and urban.

The student group quickly polarized itself into two cliques: the urbans seemed to look down upon the rural students as ignorant and unsophisticated "hicks". The rural students kept to themselves and rarely spoke up. Many of the urbans were disinterested in the anthropology material since it served to remind them of their "nativeness" -- which they were trying to reject and deny. Hence, the social adjustment problems of the rural native who finds himself a member of a minority group for the first time had little relevance or interest to them.

Lack of cohesiveness was a problem on the staff level as well. The expanded version of the program included the services of two psychologists who were hoping to use group therapy techniques to help the students discover and verbalize their problems. When they found that the pressures of silence did not work with this particular group, they became displeased with their "non-cooperation." The students, who felt that the psychologists were regarding them as "patients," reacted, understandably, with bewilderment and hostility. When several students came to the director with complaints about the content and direction of these closed sessions, the psychologists were advised to discard the group therapy structure and offer a series of introductory psychology lectures which the students would find less threatening. They finished out the session with sporadic student attendance in the psychology class.

A final staff complication lay in the unforunate assignment of a rigid, intolerant, and aggressive BIA guidance counselor who was completely unsympathetic with the aims of the program. It developed that part of his hostility toward the staff was caused by his change from staff member to consultant which occurred when U.S.O.E. funding was received. When it became apparent that he was unwilling to observe the Language and Communication classes without injecting his racial biases, he was instructed to absent himself from further class meetings. For the remainder of the session, he served (reluctantly) as BIA liason and advisor in matters of records and student financial support, and was reported by several students as advising them that they "need not attend any of the classes." During the Language and Communication class hours, he was observed on several occasions to be giving "lifts" to students for Fairbanks shopping excursions. Although he was informed that the method and content of the psychology classes had been changed, he continued to feed the divisiveness between the students and the psychologists -- which the latter were making an honest attempt to rectify. This man was subsequently released from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and was not assigned to the subsequent further COPAN sessions. The group therapy component was eliminated and replaced by guidance-testing and study skills development class.

As previously indicated in this proposal, much of the success of subsequent COPAN sessions is due to the esprit, or the feelings of mutual acceptance and trust which develops among and between the students and the staff. This atmosphere of respect and free communication had no opportunity to develop in COPAN-64.

TABLE A.

Ethnic and Rural-Urban Composition of COPAN Groups

1964 - 1967

PROGRAM	COPAN WOMEN					N	COPAN MEN					N	COPAN STUDENTS					N
YEAR	IND.	ESK.	ALEUT	RUR.	URB.	TOT.	IND.	ESK.	ALEUT	RUR.	URB.	TOT.	IND.	ESK.	ALEUT	RUR.	URB.	TOT
1964	6	1	0	5	2	7	4	4	0	4	4	8	10	5	0	9	6	15
1965	2	3	1	5	1	6	0	4	0	4	0	4	2	7	1	9	1	10
1966	9	3	0	11	1	12	0	2	0	2	0	2	9	5	0	13	1	14
1967	2	9	1	10	2	12	0	2	0	1	1	2	2	11	1	11	3	14
Col. Total	19	16	2	31	6	37	4	12	0	11	5	16	23	28	2	32	11	53
Pcnt.	51	43	5	84	16	70	25	75	0	69	31	30	43	53	4	60	40	100

TABLE B: MOVING SURVIVAL RATES OF COPAN VS. NON-COPAN NATIVE STUDENTS ENROLLED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA AND OTHER UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES - 1964 - 1967

YEAR	GROUP	N	Completed 1 semester	Completed 1 year	Completed 2 years	Completed 3 years	Currently Enrolled
1964	COPAN	15	40% (n=6)	26.7% (n=4)	13.3% (n=2)	13.3% (n=2)	13.3 (2)
	NON-COPAN	34	67 (23)	47 (16)	20 (7)	20 (7)	20 (7)
1965	COPAN	10*	80 (8)	60 (6)	60 (6)		60 (6)****
	NON-COPAN	55	56.3 (31)	29 (16)	29 (16)		20 (11)
1966	COPAN	12**	75 (9)	58 (7)			58 (7)
	NON-COPAN	32	75 (24)	46.8 (15)			50 (16)
1967	COPAN	12***	83.3 (10)				83.3(10)
	NON-COPAN	34	76.5 (26)				76.5(26)

COLUMN TOTALS ALL YEARS	1 semester	1 year	2 years	3 years	AVERAGE SURVIVAL 1964-1967	
COPAN	67.3 (33)	48.2 (17)	36.6 (8)	13.3 (2)	51.0 (25)	COPAN
NON-COPAN	67.7 (104)	40.9 (47)	24.5 (23)	20.7 (7)	38.7 (60)	NON-COPAN

COLUMN TOTALS 1965, 66, 67	1 semester	1 year	2 years	AVERAGE SURVIVAL 1965-1967	
COPAN	80.0 (27)	59.0 (13)	60.0 (6)	67.6 (23)	COPAN
NON-COPAN	66.9 (81)	37.9 (31)	20.0 (11)	43.8 (53)	NON-COPAN

* includes 2 students who entered other colleges or universities

** includes 6 students who entered other colleges or universities

*** includes 3 students who entered other colleges or universities

**** 1 recent graduate in Mining Technology

TABLE C

4 YEAR COMPARISON OF PREDICTIVE SCORES AND ENGLISH GRADES BETWEEN COPAN AND NON-COPAN ("OTHER") NATIVE STUDENTS. UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

	ACT. ENG. SCORE		ACT. COMPOS. SCORE		READING %ILE SCORE		ENGLISH GRADE GPA	
	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE
COPAN 1964	14	15.5	14	16.78	13	26.3	13	1.5
OTHERS 1964	33	16.6	33	18.0	31	33.8	28	1.75
COPAN 1965	5	11.2	5	14	6	21.3	8	2.7
OTHERS 1965	50	15.1	50	15.9	42	26.5	44	1.63
COPAN 1966	7	16.5	7	17.4	6	31.1	2	2.5
OTHERS 1966	31	16.5	31	17.2	11	37	22	1.8
COPAN 1967	7	17	7	17	2	5.5	6	1.6
OTHERS 1967	19	15.94	19	16.0	17	16.1	15	1.4
AVERAGE 1964-67	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE	N	AVERAGE
COPAN	33	15.05	33	16.29	27	21.05	29	2.07
OTHER	133	16.0	134	17.0	102	28.3	109	1.64

TABLE D.

MEDIAN A.C.T. (COMPOSITE) AND HIGH SCHOOL GPA SCORES FOR NATIVE COLLEGE ENTRANTS 1964-1967

YEAR	ACT	H.S. GPA
1964	18	243.5
1965	17.5	263
1966	16.5	242
1967	16.5	245.5

These criteria were used to place each individual student in his appropriate cell category within the bi-variable distribution ACT-GPA Chart for his respective year. When the median ACT score fell within a cluster of students having identical ACT composite scores, the ACT English score was used to determine placement in the high or low category.

TABLE E.

Bivariable Distribution of Entering Native Students
By ACT and GPA Scores - University of Alaska - 1964

N=44

High ACT -- Low GPA
(N=7)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
7	2622	18	190
4	1922	20	234
4	3512	19	220
2	1622	18	207
1	1822	25	207
1	3321	22	200
1	1121	24	182

OS 14.3
NS 20.0
CS 0.0

High ACT -- High GPA
(N=15)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
7	2712	21	359
7	1221	26	342
7	1422	24	336
7	3122	21	334
7	4611	18	303
7	3622	28	283
7	5022	20	264
6	2812	20	255
4	4912	18	258
4	0222	21	261
1	0422	19	322
1	4712	19	317
1	3922	22	296
1	4011	18	255
1	3712	20	245

OS 46.6
NS 42.0
CS 66.6

Low ACT -- Low GPA
(N=15)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
7	0112	11	204
4	4212	18	242
4	3412	10	209
2	2411	16	235
2	0822	17	221
2	3021	17	215
2	0622	13	165
1	2111	17	239
1	2311	16	236
1	4512	11	221
1	1022	13	219
1	1711	16	216
1	3822	15	189
1	1522	12	168
1	0521	17	101

OS 06.6
NS 11.0
CS 0.0

Low ACT -- High GPA
(N=7)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
4	2512	17	285
4	4421	18	247
2	4112	15	245
1	2911	14	319
1	0911	13	288
1	4322	12	250
1	1312	16	249

OS 0.0
NS 0.0
CS 0.0

KEY--for tables E, F, G, H.
SS : Semesters survived
STUDENT: First two digits = name
Third digit: 1 = rural
2 = urban
Fourth digit: 1 = COPAN
2 = non-COPAN
ACT : Composite ACT score
GPA : High school GPA
OS : Overall survival of cell
NS : Non-COPAN survival in cell
CS : COPAN survival in cell

TABLE F.

Bivariable Distribution of Entering Native Students
By ACT and GPA Scores - University of Alaska - 1965

N=53

High ACT -- Low GPA
(N=13)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
5	6322	21	189
5	4822	39	245
2	0611	20	200
2	0722	19	184
2	1612	23	172
1	5611	18	261
1	4512	18	257
1	1512	18	255
1	5222	19	244
1	3012	22	239
1	2312	18	238
1	4422	23	236
1	1422	23	253

OS 15.3
NS 18.0
CS 0.0

High ACT -- High GPA
(N=14)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
5	5112	27	358
4	5012	19	353
4	2622	26	290
4	0922	22	353
2	5812	19	334
2	3312	20	283
2	4212	22	325
2	2912	22	271
2	1122	18	313
1	3112	21	368
1	3612	20	324
1	1712	20	287
1	0522	27	274
1	0122	21	271

OS 07.0
NS 07.0

Low ACT -- Low GPA
(N=13)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
5	0812	11	232
5	4722	12	206
5	2022	14	229
2	0312	12	217
2	2812	14	204
1	3812	12	243
1	5522	16	204
1	2222	11	206
1	2112	14	200
1	5322	17	197
1	5722	14	193
1	1012	13	184
1	1212	16	163

OS 23.0
NS 23.0

Low ACT -- High GPA
(N=13)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
5	1311	10	300
5	0211	14	293
5	0412	15	275
5	4112	16	336
4	0812	12	316
4	2512	16	279
4	2712	17	265
4	3912	14	271
2	3712	12	304
2	5912	12	277
2	6012	15	275
1	3411	8	268
1	4012	9	266

OS 30.0
NS 20.0
CS 66.6

TABLE G.

Bivariable Distribution of Entering Native Students By ACT and GPA Scores - University of Alaska - 1966

N=38

High ACT -- Low GPA
(N=10)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
3	1322	22	229
3	0622	20	171
3	0922	19	154
3	3022	17	117
2	1611	18	238
2	1212	20	238
2	0522	19	227
1	1911	18	238
1	0712	17	226
1	2712	19	203

OS	40.0
NS	50.0
CS	0.0

High ACT -- High GPA
(N=9)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
3	3112	23	319
3	4011	23	269
2	2312	28	359
2	312	21	352
2	3522	20	268
2	2212	19	228
1	3412	28	354
1	2111	20	288
1	1412	22	250

OS	22.2
NS	14.3
CS	50.0

Low ACT -- Low GPA
(N=9)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
3	4112	15	241
3	3922	12	238
3	1811	12	231
3	0212	12	217
2	1511	16	228
2	4312	12	226
2	2022	16	213
2	4212	11	147
1	1012	11	210

OS	44.4
NS	43.0
CS	50.0

Low ACT -- High GPA
(N=10)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
3	2912	15	284
3	2512	13	283
3	2612	17	279
3	3612	16	276
3	1712	12	266
3	0122	12	251
3	3212	13	250
2	0822	16	294
1	0411	15	244
1	2412	11	243

OS	70.0
NS	77.0
CS	0.0

TABLE H.

Bivariable Distribution of Entering Native Students
By ACT and GPA Scores - University of Alaska - 1967

N=24

High ACT -- Low GPA
(N-6)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
2	1522	18	239
2	1411	17	225
2	3411	20	215
1	4221	20	222
1	2122	21	151
1	2522	21	197

OS 50.0
NS 33.3
CS 66.6

High ACT -- High GPA
(N=6)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
2	4322	22	366
2	2611	18	342
2	0822	19	300
2	1921	17	279
2	0122	17	250
1	0212	28	376

OS 83.3
NS 75.0
CS 100.0

Low ACT -- Low GPA
(N=6)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
2	4112	15	241
2	3211	16	233
2	1612	7	215
2	0312	9	210
2	3912	16	203
2	3812	10	197

OS 100.0
NS 100.0
CS 100.0

Low ACT -- High GPA
(N=6)

SS	STUDENT	ACT	GPA
2	2412	14	291
2	3612	6	281
2	3012	15	278
2	1112	16	277
2	0422	9	257
2	1812	14	256

OS 100.0
NS 100.0

TABLE I.

MEASURED ABILITY CATEGORIES RANKED IN ORDER OF SURVIVAL
1964-1967

	1964			1965			1966			1967		
	ACT	GPA	%	ACT	GPA	%	ACT	GPA	%	ACT	GPA	%
HIGH RATE OF SURVIVAL	HIGH	HIGH	46.6	LOW	HIGH	30.0	LOW	HIGH	70.0	LOW	HIGH	100.0
	HIGH	LOW	14.3	LOW	LOW	23.0	LOW	LOW	44.4	LOW	LOW	100.0
	LOW	LOW	6.6	HIGH	LOW	15.3	HIGH	LOW	40.0	HIGH	HIGH	83.3
LOW RATE OF SURVIVAL	LOW	HIGH	0.0	HIGH	HIGH	7.0	HIGH	HIGH	22.2	HIGH	LOW	50.0

TABLE J.

DISTRIBUTION OF URBAN AND RURAL NATIVE STUDENTS BY ABILITY CRITERIA 1964-67 AT UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

LOW ACT		HIGH ACT	
URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
15	28	21	15
5	31	17	27
20	59	38	42
34.5%	58.4%	65.5%	41.6%
LOW GPA		HIGH GPA	
URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
21	15	17	27
15	28	5	31
36	43	22	58
62%	41.6%	38%	57.4%

TABLE K.

COMPARATIVE SURVIVAL OF RURAL & URBAN NATIVE STUDENTS
WITH SIMILAR ACT-GPA SCORES -- UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA 1964-1967

	ACT COMPOSITE SCORE				HIGH SCHOOL G.P.A.			
	LOW		HIGH		LOW		HIGH	
	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL	URBAN	RURAL
N	5/20	26/59	16/38	9/42	11/36	13/43	10/22	22/58
PERCENT OF SURVIVAL	25	44	42	21	30	30	45	38

TABLE L.

SURVIVAL RATES OF ALL URBAN AND RURAL NATIVE STUDENTS WITHIN ABILITY CATEGORIES

MEASURED ABILITY CATEGORY	STUDENT GROUP	ENTERED U of A 1964				ENTERED U of A 1965				ENTERED U of A 1966			
		URBAN	%	RURAL	%	URBAN	%	RURAL	%	URBAN	%	RURAL	%
High ACT (Composite) and Low GPA (H.S.)	All*	1/6	16.6	0/1	0.0	2/6	33.3	0/7	0.0	4/5	80.0	0/5	0.0
	COPAN+	0/2	0.0	NONE		NONE		0/2	0.0	NONE		0/2	0.0
High ACT and High GPA	All*	4/7	57.1	3/8	37.5	0/5	0.0	1/9	11.0	0/1	0.0	2/3	25.0
	COPAN+	1/1	100.0	1/2	50.0	NONE		NONE		NONE		1/2	50.0
Low ACT and Low GPA	All*	0/7	0.0	1/8	12.5	2/6	33.3	1/7	14.3	1/2	50.0	3/7	43.0
	COPAN+	0/2	0.0	0/4	0.0	NONE		NONE		NONE		1/2	50.0
Low ACT and High GPA	All*	0/2	0.0	0/5	0.0	NONE		4/13	31.0	1/2	50.0	6/8	75.0
	COPAN+	0/1	0.0	0/2	0.0	NONE		2/3	66.6	NONE		0/1	0.0

*All includes COPAN students and is a measure of survival for the entire cell.

+COPAN measures COPAN student survival within each cell.

TABLE M.

Cell Performance of COPAN Versus Non-COPAN Native Students

MEASURED ABILITY CATEGORY	ENTERED U of A 1964		ENTERED U of A 1965		ENTERED U of A 1966	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
High ACT (Composite) and Low GPA (H.S.)	—	╳	╳	○	╳	○
High ACT and High GPA	+	+	╳	╳	╳	+
Low ACT and Low GPA	○	—	╳	╳	╳	+
Low ACT and High GPA	○	○	╳	+	╳	—

KEY: + HIGHER: COPAN Student Survival Exceeded that of the entire cell.

○ SAME: COPAN students survived at same rate as did the entire cell.

— LOWER: COPAN students survived at a lower rate than did the entire cell.

TABLE N.

DISTRIBUTION OF COPAN AND OTHER NATIVE STUDENTS AMONG ABILITY CATEGORIES 1964 - 1967

MEASURED ABILITY CATEGORY	STUDENT GROUP	ENTERED U of A 1964		ENTERED U of A 1965		ENTERED U of A 1966		ENTERED U of A 1967	
		URBAN%	RURAL%	URBAN%	RURAL%	URBAN%	RURAL%	URBAN%	RURAL%
HIGH ACT (COMPOSITE) and LOW GPA (H.S.)	COPAN	14.3	None	None	40.0	None	28.6	16.6	33.2
	OTHERS	13.3	3.3	12.5	10.5	16.1	9.7	16.6	None
HIGH ACT and HIGH GPA	COPAN	7.0	14.3	None	None	None	28.6	16.6	16.6
	OTHERS	20.0	20.0	10.4	19.0	3.2	19.35	16.6	5.5
LOW ACT and LOW GPA	COPAN	14.3	29.0	None	None	None	28.6	None	16.6
	OTHERS	16.6	13.3	12.5	14.6	6.45	16.1	None	27.7
LOW ACT and HIGH GPA	COPAN	7.0	14.3	None	60.0	None	14.3	None	None
	OTHERS	3.3	10.0	None	21.0	6.45	22.6	5.5	27.7

CHART I: SURVIVAL, BY SEMESTERS, OF COPAN GROUPS COMPARED WITH SURVIVAL OF NON-COPAN NATIVE STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA 1964-1967

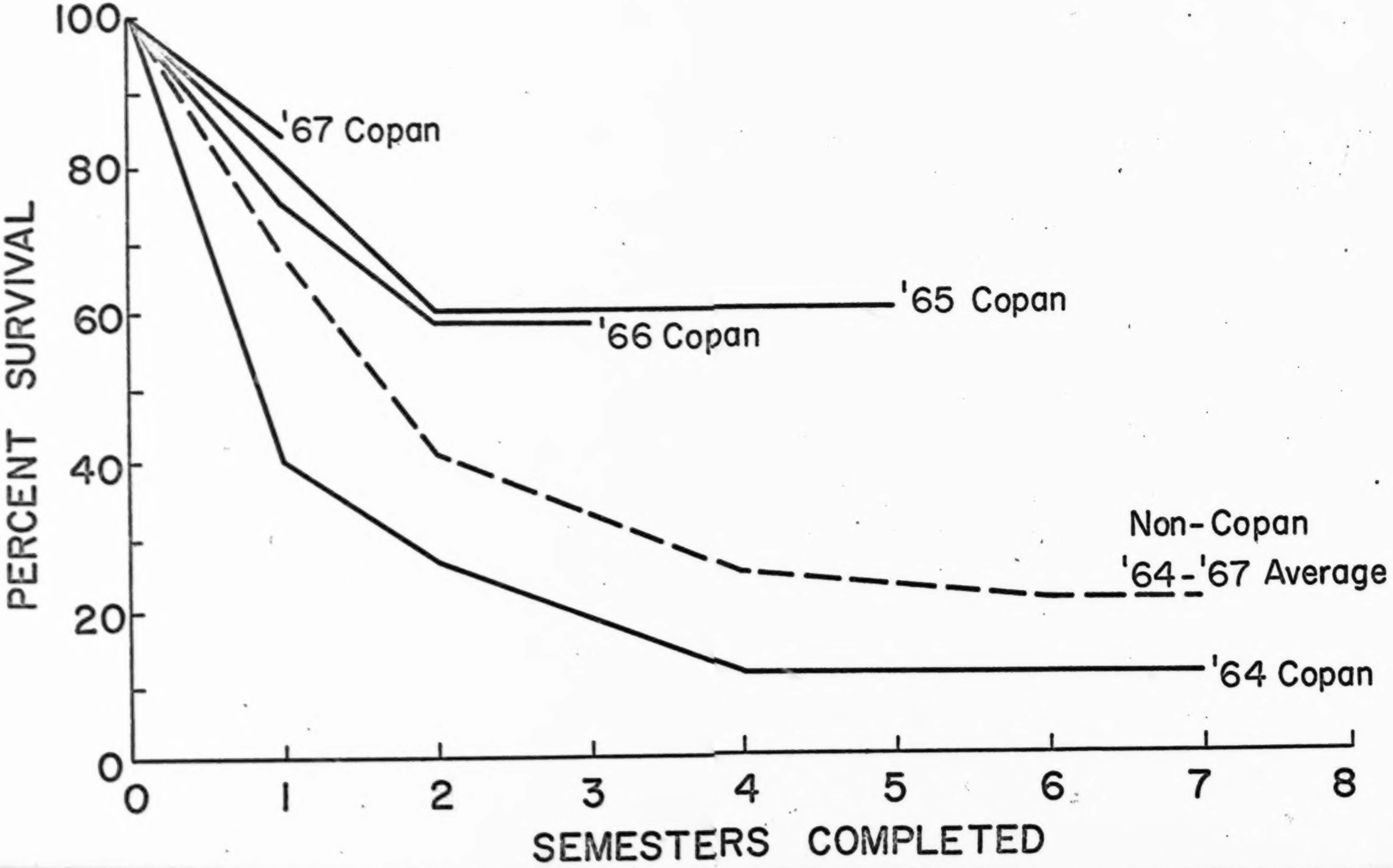


CHART II: SURVIVAL HISTORY OF COPAN GROUPS, COMPARED WITH NON-COPAN NATIVE STUDENTS ENTERING UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA AT THE SAME TIME

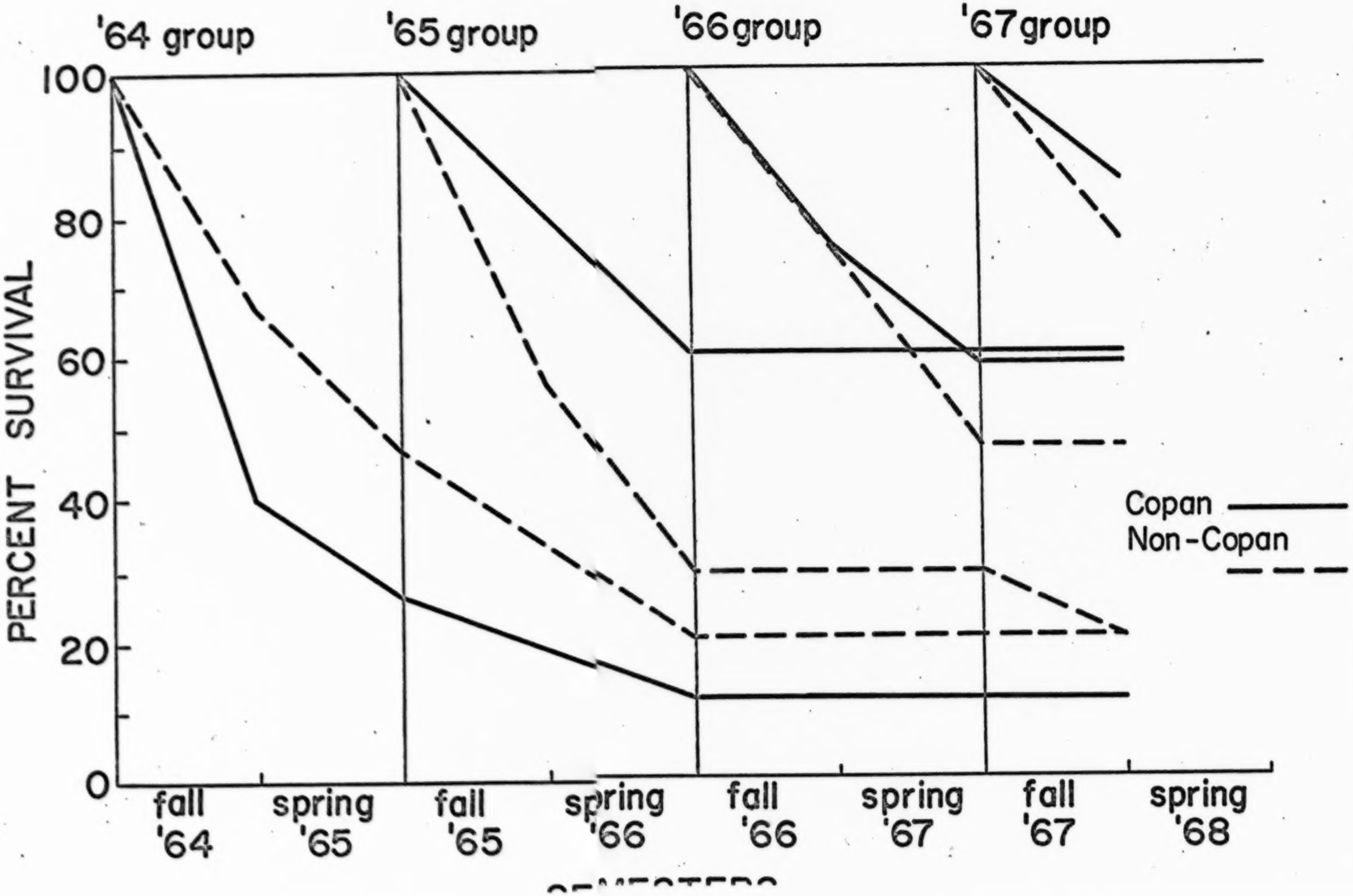
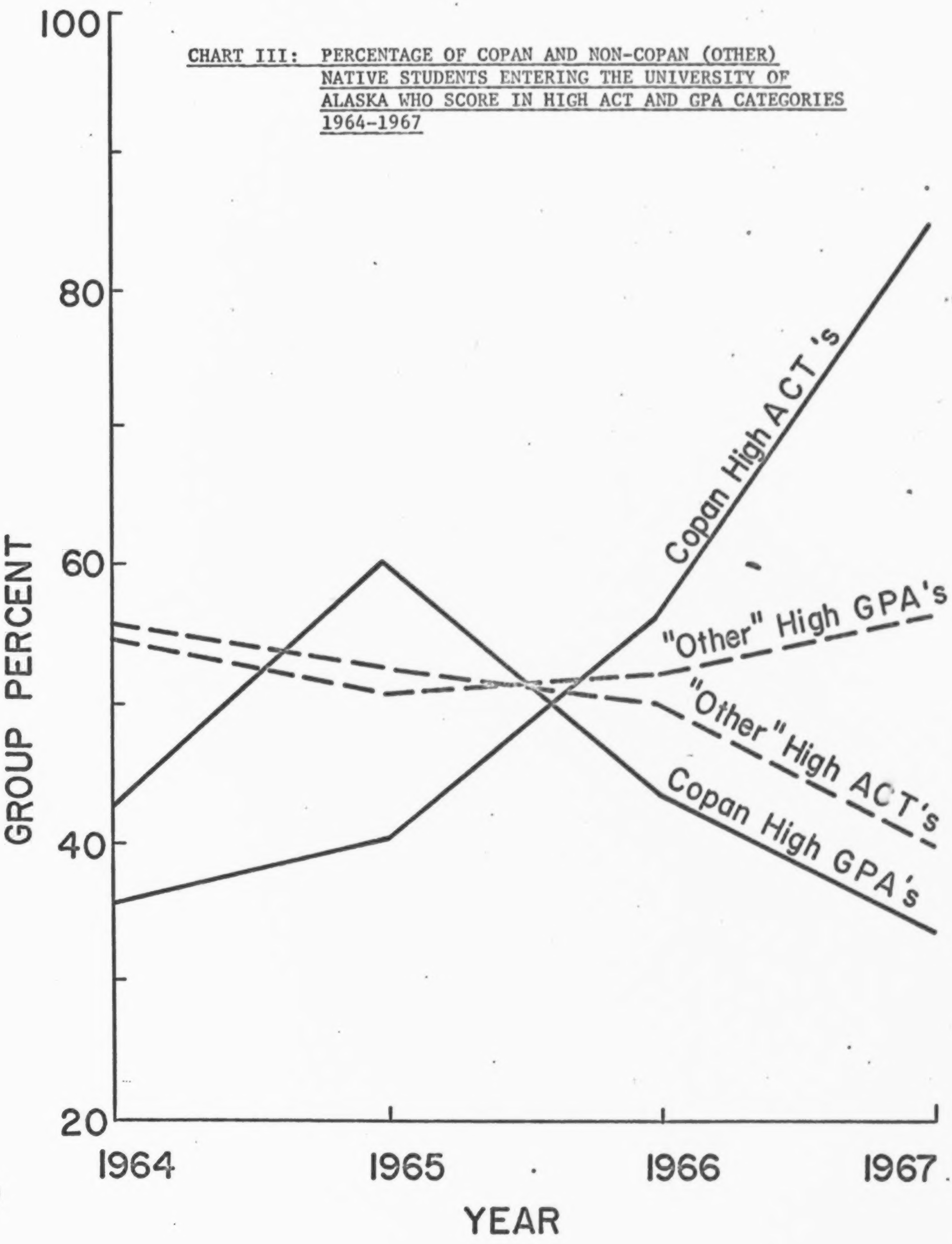


CHART III: PERCENTAGE OF COPAN AND NON-COPAN (OTHER) NATIVE STUDENTS ENTERING THE UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA WHO SCORE IN HIGH ACT AND GPA CATEGORIES 1964-1967



TENTATIVE DAILY SCHEDULE: COPAN-67

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9:30 10:50	Anthropology 101 (Prof. Heinrich) Brooks 201 --------------------------------				
11:00 12:00	Testing and counseling (Mrs. Phillips, Profs. Salisbury and Kaufmann) Specific dates, hours, and places are attached.				
12:00 1:00	Lunch Hour --				
1:00 2:20	FILM Skarland Game Room	Elementary Exposition (Profs. Salisbury and Kaufmann) ------------------------------ Brooks 207			
2:20 3:30	↓	Orientation Class Mrs. Phillips B 116	Recreation and Trips	Orientation Class Mrs. Phillips B 116	-------->
3:40 4:40	Native Culture Seminar (Staff) Coffee-hour discussion Bunnell 14			Native Culture Seminar (Staff) Coffee-hour discussion Bunnell 14	

STUDENT EVALUATION

COPAN-67

NATIVE CULTURE SEMINAR SESSIONS

1. Which topics discussed during this afternoon coffee-hour session did you enjoy the most?

   Which topics were of no interest to you?

2. What topics should be emphasized in future sessions?

3. Of what benefit (if any) were the seminar sessions to you? What new ideas or insights did you gain?

4. How can future seminars be improved?

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 2

ANTHROPOLOGY CLASS

1. Which topics did you find to be the most informative?

2. Which topics would you have liked expanded?

3. What lectures did you not like, and why?

4. Do you think that more time should have been spent in class discussing the native peoples of Alaska? Explain.

5. After having taken Anthropology 101, do you better understand man and his behavior?

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 3

LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION SESSIONS

The readings this summer are listed below, with a letter corresponding to each. Answer the following questions using key letters in the spaces provided.

A. HANDS - Sherwood Anderson
B. THE AMERICAN DREAM - Edward Albee
C. THE STRANGER - Albert Camus
D. DEATH OF A SALESMAN - Arthur Miller
E. LORD OF THE FLIES - William Golding
F. CATCHER IN THE RYE - J.D. Salinger
G. ONE FLEW OVER THE CUCKOO'S NEST - Ken Kesey
H. BABYLON REVISITED - F. Scott Fitzgerald

1. What was the most interesting story or book you read for your Program work this summer? (letter)
Why? (One or two sentences)

2. What reading did you learn most from? ____

3. What was the most difficult one? ____
Briefly, why?

4. Which would you recommend not leaving in the Program for other students next year? (Maybe more than one)
Why? ____

5. Did you read any other books this summer? If so, please list them below. (Use other side if necessary)

LANGUAGE (continued)

You saw several films during the Program which are listed below. Indicate your estimate of their value by placing a letter grade in the space provided immediately to the right of the film title. (More than one film may have the same grade, A through F.)

MIRACLE WORKER ____

RAISIN IN THE SUN ____

TWELVE ANGRY MEN ____

INHERIT THE WIND ____

DAVID AND LISA ____

LONELINESS OF THE
LONG DISTANCE RUNNER ____

COVENANT WITH DEATH ____

BIRDMAN OF ALCATRAZ ____

6. Which film interested you most? Why?

7. Which film did you learn most from? Why?

8. Which film(s) would you recommend leaving in the Program for other students next year?

9. Are any films unsuitable? If so, explain briefly.

LANGUAGE (continued)

10. Were the class discussions of benefit to you? Explain.

Some of the trips you took during the Program are listed below. Indicate the relative evaluation of each trip by placing a letter grade in the space provided. Use letters A through F.

U.S. SUPERIOR COURT TRIAL ____

MT. McKINLEY PARK TOUR ____

SNAKES AND REPTILES - MR. MORRIS ____

A-67 and PLAY: CHARLEY'S AUNT ____

A-67 and PLAY: MARRIAGE-GO-ROUND ____

RURAL TEACHER COFFEE HOUR - QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ____

11. If you graded any of the trips below C, explain your reasons for so doing.

12. If you graded any of the trips above, briefly explain your reasons for so doing. Indicate, also, what other kinds of trips you think we should have included in the Program.

LANGUAGE (continued)

The names of lecturers and guests you heard during the Program are listed below. Place a letter grade (A through F) to the right of each event which indicates its value to you.

Mr. and Mrs. Peratrovich
Tlingit-Haida Land Claims ____

Tom Hopkins
Bureau of Indian Affairs ____

Reva Wulf
Workshop on American Indian Affairs ____

Sandra Tussing
Rural Teachers Training Project ____

James Lotz
Canadian Research Center for Anthropology ____

Education can take many forms other than formal classroom experience. The Program this summer included the following types of educational experiences. Indicate what you feel to be the relative value of each type of activity by placing a letter grade (A through F) after it in the space provided.

1. Hearing lectures ____
2. Taking trips
3. Participating in class discussions ____
4. Reading short stories and books ____
5. Seeing films ____

Did you consider any of the above activities to be unduly repetitious (old stuff)? If so, please elaborate.

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 7

ORIENTATION CLASS

1. Please grade (A through F) each of the following topics which we covered in class. Your comments on each are welcome.

____Tour of campus buildings

____Summer campus activities speaker (Mrs. Lawrence)

____"What is a University?" (Pres. Wm. R. Wood)

____Discussion of roles in University (student, teacher, administrator, research personnel)

____Note taking, study habits

____Library Tour (Mrs. Galbraith)

____Tour of KUAC

____Tour of Museum

____Office of Student Affairs speaker (Mrs. Greiner)

____Tour of Geophysical Institute (Mr. Crevensten)

____Tour of Computer Center (Mr. Ruff)

____Library Orientation: card catalogues, periodical references (Mrs. Galbraith)

____Discussion of exams: types, purposes, studying for, taking

2. Which experience in the orientation class was of the most benefit to you? Why?

3. What suggestions can you make for the improvement of the orientation part of the total COPAN program?

4. Do you feel that the amount of testing was: excessive, unreasonable, reasonable, or inadequate? Comment.

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 8

SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

What experiences were new for you this summer? Write a line or two for each item?

1. In doing things for fun (entertainment)?

2. In eating?

3. In studying, reading, seeing films?

4. In working with adults?

5. In working with children?

6. In family life?

7. In school life?

8. In making friends?

9. In getting interested in things outside yourself?

10. In getting interested in yourself?

11. In what ways do you think you have grown up (changed) this summer?

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 9

LIVING ACCOMODATIONS - HOST FAMILIES (answer if appropriate)

In living with your host family, it is expected that you came to know people that you might otherwise not have met during your stay at College.

1. What did your host parents do that you most appreciated?

2. What was least desirable?

3. Who seemed to be the leader (boss) of "your" family? Why?

4. What contribution do you think you made this summer to the family, as a whole? To individual members?

5. Imagine looking back on this six-week period lived among strangers. What do you think you will clearly remember?

6. Additional comments. (Optional)

LIVING ACCOMODATIONS - DORMITORY (answer if appropriate)

If you roomed in the University residence hall, it is expected that you had some new experiences in dormitory living.

1. In what way was dormitory living different from your expectations?

2. In what ways was it as you expected it to be?

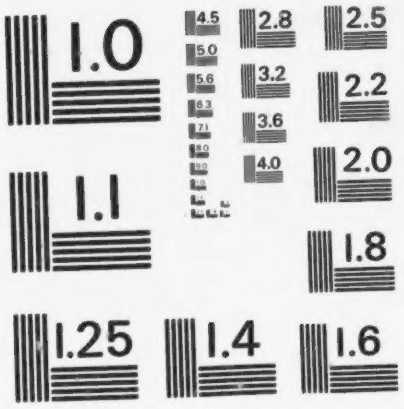
3. Did you visit any of the students who lived in host homes? Did any visit you?

4. Would you have preferred living in a host home? If so, why?

3 OF 3

ED

025225


1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
7.1
8.0
9.0
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.1
1.8
1.25
1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

COPAN-67
Student Evaluation -- 11

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: (Optional)

Please use this sheet for any comments or suggestions you might care to make about your experience with COPAN. Specific suggestions for improvement of future programs would be greatly appreciated.

LMS/ch

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA
COLLEGE, ALASKA 99735

COPAN Program

May 5, 1966

Dear Interviewer:

As the COPAN program enters its third year, it is the feeling of our staff that we might better serve the individual needs of your students if we could involve their parents more directly with the program. This interview which you are asked to conduct with the parents is to offer them some information about COPAN's objectives and procedures in the hope that they will feel closer to their child's educational career. We have also provided a questionnaire form which you are asked to complete during the interview. The information requested will provide valuable supplementary background data which we think will prove helpful in our program of individual student guidance. Only 15 applicants have been chosen for this program whom, we feel, show real academic promise. Because of the small size of our group, each student will be afforded a good deal of individual attention.

We have written a brief note to all parents of COPAN enrollees indicating that you may be visiting them shortly with descriptive materials and a questionnaire. We attach a carbon of this letter for your information.

At the conclusion of the interview (which we hope will involve both parents) and prior to forwarding these materials to us, it is hoped that you will fill in the attached Interviewer Questionnaire in which you are asked to evaluate the procedure.

We thank you for your time and effort and hope you can visit with us at the University of Alaska some day.

Very truly yours,

Lee H. Salisbury
Director, COPAN

LHS:fb
Enclosures

INTERVIEWER QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Student: ______________________ Date: __________

Address: ______________________________

1. How would you rate each parent's interest in furthering his child's education?

	Very interested	Fairly Interested	Indifferent	Couldn't Tell
FATHER	______	______	______	______
MOTHER	______	______	______	______

2. To what degree did the parents seem to understand the purpose of the COPAN program?

	Complete Understanding	Some Understanding	No Understanding	Couldn't Tell
FATHER	______	______	______	______
MOTHER	______	______	______	______

3. How closely knit did the family seem to you? Or could you tell?

4. What specific questions did the parents ask about COPAN which you feel we should answer in a letter to them?

5. Other impressions which you think might be beneficial to us in working with this student.

6. Your suggestions (if any) regarding improvement of this interview procedure.

Name: ______________________

Position: ______________________

Address: ______________________

____

ADDITIONAL DATA

Has your child any brothers/sisters? Yes/No If so, please list in chronological order:

Name ________________ Age _____ Level of Education ________

Does your child have relatives in the Fairbanks area? Yes/No

Name: ________________ Address: ________________

Name: ________________ Address: ________________

Has your child any physical handicaps? Yes/No If so, please explain:

What do you hope your child will gain from going to college? ________________

Do you foresee any obstacles which might prevent your child from finishing college? (academic, financial, social, health, family situation?)

INTERVIEWER:

Date: ________________ Signature: ________________

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COPAN PARENTS

COPAN Student: ____________________

Home Address: ____________________

Father: ____________________ Age: ______

Place of Birth: ______________ Occupation: ______________

Religion: ______________ Level of Education: ______________

Languages spoken: ____________________

Languages understood: ____________________

Mother: ____________________ Age: ______

Place of Birth: ______________ Occupation: ______________

Religion: ______________ Level of Education: ______________

Languages spoken: ____________________

Languages understood: ____________________

SPECIAL INTERESTS AND LEISURE TIME

Do you enjoy reading? Yes/No If so, what do you like to read? __________,

__________, __________,, __________, __________, __________.

Do you go to movies? Yes/No What kinds of movies do you enjoy? __________,

__________, __________, __________, __________, __________, __________.

Do you listen to the radio? Yes/No Watch T.V.? Yes/No

Favorite programs __________, __________, __________, __________.

What do you enjoy doing in your free time? (hobbies, special interests)

____

____

TRAVEL

Where have you traveled in Alaska? ____________________

____

Where have you traveled Outside? ____________________

____

PRE-APPLICATION

COLLEGE ORIENTATION PROGRAM FOR ALASKAN NATIVES

School ______________________________

Address ______________________________

____

Principal ______________________________

Senior Class Counselor(s) ______________________________

____

Number of Senior Students __________

Number of Native Students in Senior Class __________

Number of Students for whom Applications are requested __________

Please indicate person(s) to whom you wish applications and additional information sent.

____

____

____

____

____

____

Please return this form, via air mail, to:

Lee H. Salisbury
Director, COPAN-67
University of Alaska
College, Alaska 99701

Thank You.

PRINCIPAL'S STATEMENT

COLLEGE ORIENTATION PROGRAM FOR ALASKAN NATIVES
[COPAN-67]

Name of Applicant ....

Do you recommend this student for the Program? Yes .... No ....

Post High School Plans (vocational objectives): ....

....

....

Brief Social History: ....

....

....

....

....

Health or Social Problems (if any): ....

....

....

....

Additional Comments: ....

....

....

....

....

....

....

Send to: Professor Lee H. Salisbury
Director, COPAN-67
University of Alaska
College, Alaska 99701

By: May 1, 1967

____
NAME OF HIGH SCHOOL

____
SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL

APPLICATION FORM

[to be filled out by applicant]

University of Alaska
COPAN-65 Program

NAME OF APPLICANT ______________________________

SCHOOL ADDRESS ______________________________

HOME ADDRESS ______________________________

POST HIGH SCHOOL PLANS: [write a brief paragraph explaining what your vocational or professional objectives are at the present time]

REASONS FOR APPLYING TO COPAN-65: [write a brief paragraph explaining how you feel this program may be of benefit to you]

IF YOU WOULD PREFER TO RESIDE WITH A HOST FAMILY OF YOUR PARTICULAR RELIGIOUS PERSUASION LIST YOUR PREFERENCE HERE ________________. [such an arrangement will be made whenever possible]

DATE ________________ SIGNATURE ________________

[present this completed form to your high school principal together with a completed Summer Sessions Application Form]

The University of Alaska
announces:

A SUMMER COLLEGE PREPARATORY PROGRAM FOR ALASKAN NATIVE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

WHEN: July 10, through August 18, 1967
(Regular Summer Session)

WHERE: University of Alaska, College, Alaska

WHO MAY APPLY: Alaskan Native students who have graduated from high school and who plan to enter a college, junior college, or university (not necessarily the University of Alaska), for the 1967-1968 school year.

THE PROGRAM: The central objective of the Program is to help ease the student's transition from high school to higher education and, in the process, to expand his worldview and his understanding of the purposes of higher education.

The student will enroll in two regular University courses, and will receive academic credit upon their successful completion. (Such credit is transferable to the college, junior college, or university of his choice.)

Anthropology 101 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MAN (3 credits)
An introduction to cultural development of the world's peoples.

English 68 ELEMENTARY EXPOSITION (3 credits)
Reading, writing, and speaking skills as they relate to university-level education; films, field trips, lectures designed to broaden the student's view of the world.

LIVING ACCOMODATIONS:	Arrangements will be made for each student to live with a carefully selected host family on or near the University campus. Meals will be taken with the family and lunch money will be provided for the noon meal at the University Snack Bar. Every effort will be made to place the student with a family having similar professional interests. A student who wished to live with a family of his particular religious persuasion should so indicate on his application form. Students from urban areas (Anchorage, Fairbanks, Juneau, etc.) may choose to reside in University dormitories. Then meals will be taken in the University Dining Facilities.
STUDENT EXPENSES:	Transportation to and from the University of Alaska, books and supplies, room and board expenses incidental to university living will be paid by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Tuition and fees will be paid by the University of Alaska.
PROGRAM BENEFITS:	Being enrolled as a student will afford the participant with the unique opportunity to manage his own funds and to actually experience a college-learning situation prior to his undertaking a full-time program of studies in the fall. At the same time, he will have expert counseling designed to help him master those facets of university life which have proven most difficult for Alaskan Native students in the past.
HOW TO APPLY:	If you are interested in applying for COPAN-67, tell your principal and/or guidance counselor, and he will secure all necessary forms for you. Since enrollment is limited to fifteen (15) students, we urge you to act promptly.

UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA
INTENT TO ENROLL
Summer 1967

Return to:
Summer Sessions
University of Alaska
College, Alaska 99701

Today's Date ____________ Check the 1967 Summer Session or Sessions in which you plan to enroll:

☐ Pre-Session ☐ Short Session ☐ Inter-Session ☐ Regular Session ☐ Post-Session

NAME ____ ☐ Male ☐ Female
(Last) (First) (Middle/Maiden)

Current Mailing Address ____

☐ Resident of Alaska Permanent ______________________________
Home ______________________________
☐ Non-resident Address ______________________________

Date of Birth ____________ Place of Birth ____________________ Marital Status ____________

☐ I have never attended any college or university.

☐ I have previously enrolled in University of Alaska courses on the campus, at a Community College or military unit in Alaska or at other sessions of the University.
If you attended under another name, state name ______________________________
Give date and place of last attendance ______________________________

☐ I last attended some other college or university.
Name of high school from which you graduated ______________________________
Date of high school graduation ____________

List below all colleges and universities previously attended:

Name of School	City and State	Dates Attended	Degrees Earned

Check the appropriate classification under which you will enroll:

☐ I wish to enroll for the first time as a degree candidate. NOTE: This is not an application for admission form. Students who wish to become candidates for a degree at the University must complete an official application for admission form and submit official transcripts of all previous college work to the Registrar prior to enrollment in the 1967 Summer Sessions. If you have checked the above box, an application for admission form will be sent to you.

☐ I have previously been accepted by the University as a degree candidate.

☐ I am enrolling as a transient student (non-degree candidate).

If you are under 21 years of age, you must be a high school graduate and must submit an official high school transcript prior to enrollment if you have not attended any college or university since graduating from high school. In the space below, give the name and address of your parents or guardians:

____
(Parents' Name) (Mailing Address) (City) (State)

University of Alaska-College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives

Qualifications of Applicant:

1. Must be at least one-quarter or more Alaska Native blood.
2. Must be a high school graduate (preferably of the class of '67) who plans to matriculate in the fall at a college, junior college, or university.

How to Apply:

1. Return a completed University of Alaska Summer Session application.
2. Return a COPAN-67 application (filled in by applicant).
3. Furnish a statement from applicant's high school principal, recommending the student for the Program. A form has been included for this purpose.
4. Furnish a copy of the applicant's high school transcript, with available standardized testing information.
5. The above items should be mailed immediately to:

Professor Lee H. Salisbury
Director, COPAN-67
University of Alaska
College, Alaska 99701

Although not entirely necessary, we should like to have a photograph of the applicant, if available.

Applicants should be mature individuals, for, as college students, they will be expected to assume great responsibility for their actions during the six-week session.

Participants will be notified of travel arrangements which will enable them to arrive at the University on or shortly before July 9. They will be met at the air, bus, or rail terminal by Program staff and transported to the housing assigned to them.

Current plans call for the participants to receive an initial stipend which will cover expenses while at the University. Books, spending money, and other miscellaneous expenses will have to come from this initial stipend, so that budgeting of money will be something that will receive attention during the Program

A participant will receive regular college credit for the successful completion of the courses taken from the University of Alaska, and this credit may be transferred to the college of his choice following the summer session.

Those who are to participate in the Program will be notified of acceptance after May 15; at this time, additional information will be furnished to those students selected.

TEACHING ENGLISH TO NATIVE STUDENTS

Except for one or two fairly definite items, everything that can be said about the problems of native students with English is somewhat tentative, since they share problems with non-native freshmen, too. but, if there is one essential difference between the average middle-class white student and the native from one of the villages who has had no significant *social* contact with people of the dominant culture, it is that the native student has no popular model to imitate when he writes. The average non-native student coming to college can usually write a sort of prose made up of bits of popular journalism, sentimental sermonizing, and patriotic speeches. Of course, a good student might choose more interesting models, but my point is that even the third-rate student is likely to have some third-rate model for his prose. Village natives are less likely to have such models, I think. This can be both good and bad -- good because the student's mind isn't filled with cotton-candy ideas; bad, because he has no basis for a prose style at all.

So, the native from the village is left with two choices. One: he can more or less follow his own speech patterns in writing and those in his village. If he does this, he will write prose that is un-English sounding to the ears of most speakers of English. Two: he can try to be grammatical and correct, following the instructions of the school teacher. In this case, he may write fairly "correct" prose, but it will be stilted and quite possibly trite. It is interesting that most of the boys fall into the first category and write interesting though ungramatical papers, and most of the girls fall into the second and write dull and correct ones. There are exceptions, of course.

At any rate, our problem with native writers is simply a more aggravated form of the problem with other writers. We have to give the "incorrect" ones some idea of the structure of English sentences, at the same time not destroying their interest in the things they discuss. We have to loosen up the "correct" ones so that they write something worth reading. And, as with all freshman students, we have to help the native writer to organize his material and make selections. The native students may have an even worse time organizing than most students, since they are likely to be less acquainted with Western notions of order and ways of proceeding than most. The best native writers, as we've often noted, have an eye for detail that is remarkable, not being contaminated by all those third-rate influences noted above. But, they are likely to include *every* detail, not selecting the most telling.

To be more specific about "grammatical" problems, those who have problems with the mechanics of English are likely to be bothered particularly by verbs. Some of the students, one or two of the boys in particular, had problems with irregular verbs, wishing to use an *ed* ending for the past tense of a verb like sing. Such usage is seldom found in white middle-class students. I think it reflects unfamiliarity with what we call standard English -- the student seldom hears the usual variety of English spoken. Sometimes, the student simply fails to make use of the English system of tenses at all, and occasionally he trips over the *s* in third person singular verbs. I am sure all of this is from the same cause -- unfamiliarity with standard English on the spoken level. The "errors" the students make are not usually those that are associated with the ordinary uneducated American, who uses all of the systems of the language quite adroitly, but without any attention to the niceties of grammar books. They are errors more fundamental, the student not being acquainted with all the resources of the English language. For another example, one or two of the students had problems with *a* and *the*, not knowing when to use and when not to use an article. An uneducated speaker may not use *a* and *an* according to rule, but he seldom if ever has any trouble using articles or not using them in the course of a sentence. One other item which I noted: *none* of the students were on to the conditional tense. Instead of saying *I would have gone if he had asked me*, they would use *I will have gone*, *etc*. This is particularly interesting since most native students tend to use *would* in sentences where they have no real intention of being conditional; i.e., Question: Which traffic light means 'Stop'? Answer: *It would be red*. Questions are often answered with *would*.

Thomas Madsen
English Teacher
COPAN-65

PSYCHOMETRIC EVALUATION OF COPAN

As the title implies, this report is limited to an evaluation of the College Orientation Program for Alaskan Natives (COPAN) on the basis of psychometric findings. It does not report, analyze, or interpret the findings from the several less formal means by which the program was, in part, evaluated.

The first part of this report consists of a summary of the psychometric data for the students enrolled in COPAN-67. The second section presents and interprets the results obtained from those instruments and techniques that were used for two or more years of the four years of the program's operation.

COPAN-67 Summary

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale:

The Full Scale Wais IQ's, the Verbal IQ's, and the Performance IQ's of COPAN-67 subjects all had means of 111 IQ points. The standard deviations were, respectively, 5, 5, and 9. These results strongly suggest that these students, in spite of obvious cultural disadvantages, were functioning at an intellectual level on a dominant-culture test commensurate with university freshmen on many typical campuses throughout the country. If the attrition rate of COPAN-67 students is higher than the national average, it is probable that the causes will be found primarily in non-intellectual factors.

Table 1 presents the mean and standard deviation of COPAN-67 students on each WAIS subtest.

The rank-difference correlation coefficient between the means of these eleven subtests for the fourteen COPAN-67 subjects and the thirty previous rural subjects in COPAN-64, 65, and 66 was +.87. In no case did the difference between the mean scaled scores on a subtest for the COPAN-67 subjects and the thirty previous rural subjects differ at a statistically significant level. There was, then, great consistency of the relative strengths and weaknesses of this year's participants with those of previous years. Discussion of major implications of findings from the WAIS is presented in the section of this report devoted to the four-year WAIS summary.

Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale:

As in previous years, the TMAS was administered at the beginning and at the end of the program. Table 2 reports the mean and standard

TABLE 1.

COPAN-67 WAIS Subtest Scaled Score Means
and Standard Deviations (N=14)

WIAS Subtest	Mean	c
Similarities	12.86	2.39
Comprehension	12.79	2.68
Digit Symbols	12.57	2.69
Block Design	12.36	1.76
Picture Arrangement	11.57	1.80
Picture Completion	11.50	1.24
Information	11.36	1.91
Vocabulary	11.00	1.20
Arithmetic	10.71	2.52
Object Assembly	10.21	2.96
Digit Span	9.43	2.61

deviation for each administration. It can be seen that there was a decrease in the scores from the first administration to the second administration; this is suggestive of a possible reduction in manifest anxiety during the time the students spend in the program. However, this decrease was not statistically significant.

TABLE 2.

TMAS Mean and Standard Deviation
Before and After COPAN-67

Before		After	
M	c	M	c
16.6	6.3	13.9	5.8
t = 1.4*			

*For 13 df, t=2.2 is significant at .05 level.

Table 3

Mean Semantic Differential Dimension Scores for COPAN--67 (N = 14)

		Mean	
Stimulus	Dimension	Before	After
	Good	5.21	5.21
Snow	Potent	3.71	3.86
	Active	3.07	3.50
	Good	5.79	5.86
College	Potent	5.67	5.62
	Active	4.95	5.10
	Good	5.19	5.05
Your Village	Potent	4.12	4.29
	Active	3.00	3.17
	Good	6.17	5.83
Love	Potent	4.76	5.05
	Active	4.48	4.45
	Good	5.36	5.43
Competition	Potent	5.67	5.57
	Active	5.73	5.74
	Good	5.79	5.60
Fishing	Potent	4.36	4.69
	Active	3.50	4.14
	Good	4.83	4.71
Yourself	Potent	3.95	4.33
	Active	4.07	3.95
	Good	5.24	4.86
Money	Potent	4.60	4.40
	Active	4.40	4.48
	Good	5.64	5.48
Native	Potent	4.55	5.02
	Active	3.90	3.71
	Good	6.07	5.93
Knowledge	Potent	5.17	5.62
	Active	4.52	4.86
	Good	5.05	5.00
Business	Potent	5.00	4.90
	Active	4.50	5.02
	Good	5.26	5.12
Caucasians	Potent	4.50	4.62
	Active	4.33	4.64

Semantic Differential:

As in past years, the Semantic Differential was employed to measure the meaning of twelve stimulus words both at the beginning and at the end of the six-week program. As is customary with this technique, each stimulus word was presented on a separate page. Under each stimulus were nine scales, each with seven categories. Three scales were used to define each of the three dimensions of the Semantic Differential. In each scale, the students were presented with a pair of opposite adjectives (e.g., good-bad) and were directed to check one of the seven positions indicated on the line connecting the polar pair. Numerical ratings for each pair of polar adjectives for each stimulus word were secured by assigning numbers from one at the negative end of this line to seven at the positive end. The numerical scores for the factorially similar pairs were averaged to obtain the score of each of the three dimensions for each stimulus word for each student. The polar adjectives used for the good-bad dimension were good-bad, pleasant-unpleasant, and likeable-not likeable; the potent-impotent dimension was defined by the pairs strong-weak, brave-cowardly, and hard-soft; and the active-inactive dimension employed the pairs fast-slow, tense-relaxed, and excitable-calm.

The small number of participating subjects each summer has made significant before-after differences unlikely for the Semantic Differential as well as the TMAS. A t test was used to test the statistical significance of changes in means between the two administrations of this instrument; none of the differences for COPAN-67 reached the .05 level of confidence. Table 3 presents the mean score of each of the three dimensions for each of the twelve stimulus words.

The difference between any pair of stimulus words located by the Semantic Differential in three-dimensional space can be calculated by the formula $D = a^2 + b^2 + c^2$. The sixty-six distances between each pair of stimuli were calculated for each student for each administration. To determine whether significant change in the distance between each pair of stimuli occurred during the program, a sign test was applied as an appropriate test of significance of change of distance between stimuli (Osgood, Suci, and Tennenbaum, 1957, pp. 101-02). For the fourteen students enrolled in COPAN-67, none of the sixty-six differences between stimuli changed enough to yield a .05 level of confidence that a real change in distance had occurred.

Q-Sort:

Sixty-four self-referent short sentences were sorted four times by each student at the beginning and again at the end of the six-week program. These sentences were sorted into five piles to form a forced-normal distribution in each sort. The five piles were for sentences most like, somewhat like, neither like nor unlike, somewhat unlike, and most unlike the real or hypothetical person for which the students were individually making each sort. The first sort was performed on the basis of the extent to which each stimulus sentence was like or unlike the subject's perception of his real self. The second sort was for ideal self. Next, each subject sorted the sentences to indicate how he thought a typical youth of his age and sex from his home village would sort the items. Finally, the sentences were sorted to indicate the subject's perception of how a typical city-dwelling American youth of his age and sex would sort the sentences.

Positiveness of Self Concept: About one-third of the sentences used in the Q-sort were clearly positive statements and another one-third were negative statements. These sentences provided a means of measuring the positiveness of self concept. A score for each subject's real-self sort was derived by assigning one point to each positive sentence that was placed in the pile representing "most like" or "somewhat like" the self and adding to this score the number of negative cards sorted as "most unlike" or "somewhat unlike" the self.

Table 4 presents the means of these two measures and related statistics. While scores increased during the program, statistical significance on a one-tailed t test was not attained. Unfortunately, this use of the Q-sort is dependent on sample size; thus, significant findings are unlikely with only fourteen subjects. This finding nevertheless indicates that improvement in self concept was considerably more likely to have occurred during the 1967 program than lowering of self regard.

TABLE 4.

Positiveness of Self Concept
Before and After COPAN-67

	Before	After
Mean	24.79	26.43

$D = 1.64$

$^{c}N_{D} = 1.34$

$t = 1.22$

The statistically insignificant increase in the measure of positiveness of self concept in conjunction with the statistically insignificant decrease in manifest anxiety scores combine to rather strongly suggest that a general improvement occurred in emotional status of students during COPAN-67.

Correlational Analysis: By use of the four sorts at the beginning of the program, Pearson r's were computed with the six pairs of sorts. This procedure was repeated for the corresponding sorts at the completion of the program. These correlation coefficients were computed for each individual across the sixty-four cards in each Q-sort. Herein lies a major advantage of Q methodology. It is based on the number of stimulus cards rather than on the number of individuals. Hence, in this correlational analysis, the small number of participants did not contribute to the likelihood of statistically insignificant findings.

The purpose of the correlational analysis of the Q-sort data was to determine the extent to which the student's percepttions of the four real and hypothetical individuals for whom the sorts were made increased or decreased in similarity during the program. This analysis was accomplished by computing the mean (by the use of Fisher's z's) of each of the six correlation coefficients obtained for each of the fourteen students at the beginning of the program and of each of the six correlation coefficients obtained for each subject at the end of the program. A two-tailed critical ratio test was then used to determine the significance of the difference of the change in each mean correlation for the fourteen students between the beginning and the end of the program. These findings are reported in Table 5.

TABLE 5.

Mean r's Between Q-Sorts Before and After COPAN-67

Pair of Sorts	Mean r Before	Mean r After	Level of Sign.	C.R.
Real-Ideal	.26	.35	.05	1.99
Real-City	.22	.23	---	.25
Real-Village	.16	.20	---	.85
Ideal-City	.16	.24	---	1.67
Ideal-Village	.33	.10	.001	4.90
City-Village	.22	.27	---	1.12

The first row of Table 5 shows that the mean correlation between participants' perception of their real selves and ideal selves increased from .26 to .35 during COPAN-67. This measure of personality adjustment is often used in counseling research to measure benefits of treatment. This finding, significant at the .05 level of confidence, strongly reinforces the suggestion of improved personality integration that was made from the decrease in scores on manifest anxiety and the increase in scores on positiveness of self concept. Collectively, these three assessments signify a general improvement in mental health of participants during the six weeks of COPAN-67.

The correlations of the ideal-self sort with the students sorts for typical city and typical home village youth are quite interesting. While the correlation between ideal-self sort and city-youth sort increased slightly, the correlation between ideal-self sort and home-village youth sort decreased markedly. This indicates that during the 1967 program the participants came to perceive their ideal selves as more like typical city youth and less like typical home village youth. This suggests that subjects grew to view their own acculturation into the dominant culture as desirable. The similar, but much less pronounced, changes in the correlations of real-self sort with city and village sorts suggests that participants did not perceive their actual selves to have changed as much as they might *ideally like to change.* This attitude may serve to set the stage for COPAN participants to continue to try to bring their real selves into closer harmony with their perceptions of typical dominant-culture youth.

Four-Year Summary

This section presents findings for the total sample of COPAN participants for instruments used during two or more years of the program's existence.

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale:

The forty-four rural students enrolled in COPAN during the four summers of the program's operation were pooled for the WAIS subtest analysis. Table 6 reports the order of the performance of subjects on each WAIS subtest as well as the subtest means and standard deviations. Also shown in Table 6 is the mean and standard deviation of each subtest for the standardization sample of 18 and 19 year olds (Wechsler, 1955, p. 15). Finally, the difference in means of these two samples and the level of significance of the difference is reported for each subtest.

The Digit Span Test was the only one on which COPAN participants performed less well than the normative sample. This statistically insignificant inferiority might be at least partly attributable to the common lack of experience with telephone numbers and addresses in the Alaskan bush. The relatively low showing on the Arithmetic Test may reflect the lesser need for, and use of, arithmetic in the daily activities in rural Alaska than in the dominant culture. That the present sample did not significantly excel the norm group on the Arithmetic Test should serve to indicate that this is an area in which native students, as a group, may experience academic difficulties in university work.

The marked superiority of the sample on the Block Design Test over the norm group is consistent with findings of Howell, et al. (1958) using adolescent Navaho subjects. Whether the relative strength on the Block Design Test reflects a greater emphasis on design in native cultures or whether it simply measures a kind of ability that is not as greatly depressed by the disadvantaged cultural milieus of native examinees is a matter of conjecture.

TABLE 6.

WAIS Subtest Statistics for Native and Norm Samples

	Native (N = 44)		Norm (N = 200)			
WAIS Subtest	Mean	c	Mean	c	Mean Diff.	Sign.
Block Design	12.3	2.4	9.8	3.1	2.5	.001
Similarities	12.3	1.9	9.5	3.1	2.8	.001
Comprehension	12.0	2.9	9.7	3.0	2.3	.001
Digit Symbols	12.0	2.2	9.8	3.0	2.3	.001
Information	11.4	1.7	9.7	2.9	1.7	.001
Picture Completion	11.2	1.7	9.7	2.8	1.5	.001
Picture Arrangement	10.9	1.8	10.1	2.9	0.8	.05
Vocabulary	10.5	1.6	9.3	2.8	1.2	.001
Object Assembly	10.5	2.8	10.0	2.8	0.5	--
Arithmetic	10.2	2.4	9.5	3.0	0.7	--
Digit Span	9.3	2.9	9.7	3.1	-0.4	--
Sum Verbal Tests	65.7	6.4	57.3	14.9	8.4	.001
Sum Performance Tests	56.8	6.6	49.4	11.8	7.4	.001
Total	122.6	10.2	106.7	25.2	15.9	.001

Relative to the standardization sample, the present sample's greatest strength was displayed on the Similarities Test. This finding, along with the strength of the Comprehension Test, should be suggestive to college instructors of ways in which they can render their subject matter more manageable to native youth. For example, greater emphasis on the meaningful, albeit abstract, use of language concepts than on the necessity for a high vocabulary level might be appropriate in a number of subject fields.

The COPAN sample was above the norm group at the .001 level of confidence on the Block Design, Similarities, Comprehension, Digit Symbols, Information, Picture Completion, and Vocabulary Tests and was superior to the norm group at the .01 level of confidence on the Picture Arrangement Test. Of course it is not surprising that this group of university freshmen would excel a national cross-section of 18 to 19 year olds because university students generally represent a somewhat select group with respect to intellectual abilities.

The incidence of substantial differences between the native and standardization samples in test means and standard deviations makes evident the grave hazards that would attend the use of the standardization norms for profile analysis of individual members of this minority population. WAIS profile analysis of minority-group subjects must take cognizance of the minority group's pattern characteristics rather than rely exclusively on national norms. It seems safe to generalize that conventional WAIS profile analysis for rural Alaska native university freshmen would be ill advised (Hanna, House, and Salisbury, 1968).

Conventional abbreviated WAIS forms and scoring procedures have been shown to be inappropriate for the present sample. Abbreviated forms should be selected for the specific population to which they will be administered; nationally adequate short WAIS forms could yield decidedly misleading results if used with the population from which the COPAN sample was drawn (Hanna, House, and Salisbury, 1968).

Of more importance than the comparison of the COPAN sample with the WAIS standardization group is the relative strengths and weaknesses of the COPAN participants. Relative strengths and weaknesses of the thirty COPAN subjects from bush backgrounds in COPAN-64,65, and 66 have been analyzed and reported elsewhere (Hanna, House, and Salisbury, 1968). Since the rank-difference correlation of the means and the rank-difference correlation of the standard deviations for these thirty subjects were .98 and .87, respectively, with the total forty-four rural subjects, this analysis was not re-performed for the total group. The results would be virtually identical. Knowledge of relative high and low areas of intellectual functioning can enable secondary and tertiary school personnel (1) to provide instructional methods and media by which maximal learning can be attained, (2) to be alert in areas where students may demonstrate a need for remedial instruction, and (3) to help students select courses for which they may have greatest aptitude. Table 7 reports the results of the analysis of the thirty rural subjects who participated in the first three years of COPAN's operation. An analysis of variance yielded an F of 6.81. Since this was significant well beyond the .01 level of confidence, two-tailed t tests were made for each pair of tests. Each entry signifies the level of significance of the superiority of the mean scaled score of the test above the entry over the mean scaled score of the test to the left of the entry. It is worthy of note that twenty-three of the fifty-five possible differences were significant. Clearly, the population to which this sample belongs is substantially stronger in some intellectual functions than in others relative to the national norms. Block Design and Similarities scores were significantly superior to scores on six other tests, while scores on Digit Span, Arithmetic, and Vocabulary Tests were inferior to scores on several other tests.

TABLE 7.

Levels of Significance of Inter-Test Differences* (N = 30)

WAIS Test	Information	Comprehension	Similarities	Digit Symbols	Picture Completion	Block Design	Picture Arrangement
Arithmetic	.01	.05	.01	.01		.01	
Digit Span	.01	.01	.01	.01	.05	.01	.05
Vocabulary	.01	.05	.01	.01		.01	
Picture Completion			.05			.01	
Picture Arrangement			.01			.01	
Object Assembly			.01			.01	

*Only tests having one or more sign. inter-test diff. are shown.

The difference between the mean Verbal IQ of 109 and the mean Performance IQ of 110 is not statistically significant. The slight superiority of the Performance IQ's in this sample of university students, where verbal abilities had no doubt been a more important selective criterion than had performance abilities, may well signify the lesser need for, and use of, verbal abstractions in Alaska native cultures than in the dominant culture.

School and College Ability Test:

Two forms of the SCAT were administered in a rotated design to all COPAN-65 and COPAN-66 subjects at the beginning and at the end of the respective summers. Comparison of before-after mean scores failed to reveal any significant difference in means. Moreover, there was no non-significant trend toward either increased or decreased scores during the program.

Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale:

It was desired to summarize the data for the TMAS for the four years of COPAN's operation, but the scores on this instrument were unfortunately misplaced for the 1964 subjects. Therefore, the TMAS summary includes data for only the 38 COPAN participants for the years 1965 through 1967. Table 8 summarizes the before-after comparison. It can be seen that there was a decrease in mean anxiety score during the program. However, a t test failed to indicate a statistically significant before-after mean difference. Hence, the TMAS findings are inconclusive. However, it should be noted that the results are clearly consistent in direction, if not in magnitude, with those of the Q-sort's positiveness of self concept and the real self-ideal self correlations reported below. Perhaps encouragement should be taken from the fact that anxiety scores did not increase during this

TABLE 8.

TMAS Mean and Standard Deviation
Before and After COPAN (N = 38)

Before		After	
M	c	M	c
16.92	7.06	15.68	7.06
t = 1.58*			

*For 37 df, t = 2.03 is significant at .05 level.

Table 9

Mean Semantic Differential Dimension Scores
for Four-Year Summary (N = 53)

Stimulus	Dimension	Mean		Sign
		Before	After	
Snow	Good	5.20	5.25	--
	Potent	3.89	4.00	--
	Active	3.69	3.73	--
College	Good	5.91	5.69	.05
	Potent	5.60	5.22	.01
	Active	4.87	5.00	--
Your Village	Good	5.30	4.94	.05
	Potent	4.18	4.31	--
	Active	3.53	3.84	.05
Love	Good	6.21	5.94	.01
	Potent	4.88	5.00	--
	Active	4.30	4.58	.05
Competition	Good	5.45	5.27	--
	Potent	5.60	5.38	--
	Active	5.59	5.45	--
Fishing	Good	5.75	5.45	--
	Potent	4.87	4.57	.05
	Active	4.01	4.18	--
Yourself	Good	4.57	4.61	--
	Potent	4.19	4.36	--
	Active	3.91	4.14	--
Money	Good	5.21	5.16	--
	Potent	4.74	4.70	--
	Active	4.58	4.53	--
Native	Good	5.48	5.25	.05
	Potent	4.75	4.75	--
	Active	4.06	4.01	
Knowledge	Good	6.30	5.99	.01
	Potent	5.42	5.42	--
	Active	4.49	4.68	--
Business	Good	5.12	5.03	--
	Potent	5.11	4.89	--
	Active	4.79	4.75	--
Caucasians	Good	5.03	4.88	--
	Potent	4.38	4.45	--
	Active	4.29	4.35	--

of orientation to college life--certainly not a time of life that is normally characterized by low anxiety. In spite of being away from their home villages, functioning in a relatively competitive, foreign academic setting, and living in a much larger city than many had previously known, participants' anxiety scores declined. This is interpreted to be a probable result of the supportive nature of the program.

Semantic Differential:

The same twelve stimulus words were used in the Semantic Differential administrations at the beginning and at the end of the summer programs each of the four years of COPAN's operation. Hence, it was possible to summarize the data for the four years. Two kinds of summary analyses are presented below.

Analysis by Dimensions: Table 9 reports the mean rating for each dimension of each stimulus word for the administrations before and after the six-week orientation. The extreme right-hand column of Table 9 reports the level of significance of the change in before-after ratings determined by means of the usual t test.

The significant decrease in the good dimension of "college" at face value is certainly no more encouraging than the even more definite decrease in the potent dimension of this stimulus. In the absence of a control group, it is impossible to determine whether such changes are attributable to the rationalizations of students meeting with less success in college than that which they had hoped to attain, or whether the decrease reflects an inadequacy of the program. In either case, the changed ratings of "college" are interpreted as adverse findings.

The decrease in goodness of the rating of "your village" seems even more discouraging in light of the program's objective of building pride in the students' native cultures. But, perhaps it is to be expected that one's perception of a small rural village would not be as favorable after residing in a larger community during which time one experienced varied stimulating experiences. However, the latter interpretation is difficult to reconcile with the surprising increase in the activity dimension of "your village." It is odd indeed that students would perceive a small rural village as being more active after they had experienced life in a larger community for a summer than they did before.

The decrease in the good dimension and the increase in the active dimension of "love" is more difficult to interpret. While the latter may be innocuous, the former is far from encouraging.

The decrease of "fishing" on the potent dimension may signify an increased awareness of subjects of other desirable, masculine occupations in the world of work and a resultant decrease in perception of fishing as an activity that is especially potent. However, this interpretation is not supported by the rather average rating of "fishing" on the potent dimension in both administrations of this instrument. An alternative interpretation could be made that the decreased perception of "fishing" as potent reflects a decreased respect for, or pride in, a common native-culture economic activity. This interpretation is consistent with evidence provided by the Q-sort.

At face value, the decreased rating of "native" on the good dimension might be alarming. However, this possible reaction is attenuated by the fact that "yourself" did not decrease on this dimension. One plausible explanation of this change is that due to the opportunity that COPAN afforded for a secure, non-defense-eliciting examination of relative merits of native and dominant cultures accompanied by the staff's accepting attitudes toward varied cultures, the participants developed a greater freedom and security to view themselves as capable, worthy individuals who did not have to cling in defensive pride to all attributes of native cultures. They may have been emotionally freer to choose for themselves between the goodness of native and dominant cultural characteristics. Although this interpretation is not supported by the failure of the good rating of "caucasians" to increase, it is strongly supported by the several sources of evidence of increased personality integration that are noted elsewhere in conjunction with the Q-sort increased congruence of both real and ideal selves with typical city youth and decreased congruence with typical village youth.[1] It is to be hoped that the decreased evaluation of "native" reflects an increased security of participants of the program.

Like the decreased evaluation of "college," the decrease in the good dimension of "knowledge" could be interpreted as reflecting a normal discouragement with the rigors of academic life, a decreased evaluation of the merits of college and knowledge, or a short term Hawthorne effect operating at the beginning of the program.

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[1] This decrease may also reflect an increase in negative feelings toward the word itself. Several of the seminar sessions discuss the several semantic meanings which this label carries. Native is, of course, essentially a legal term which denotes any person who is one-quarter or more of Eskimo, Indian or Aleut background. After these discussions, many students come to feel that while the term may be convenient, it unfairly lumps all of these groups together into a faceless mass. It is significant that COPAN students who enter the program indicating that they "speak native", leave the session declaring that they speak "Eskimo," "Indian," or "Aleut." Their ability to separate themselves from this amorphous and (often) demeaning designation is another indication of their growing feelings of self-worth and identity. Viewed in this light, it is logical that "Native" would receive a lower goodness rating whereas "Yourself" would not.

In any case, these two changes in Semantic Differential responses indicate areas in which COPAN participants valued dominant-culture, middle-class ideals less at the end of the six weeks of college than they had at the beginning. It is unfortunate that inavailability of similar non-COPAN subjects made a control group impossible. A control group would have made it possible to infer how COPAN students would have responded after a few weeks of college if they had not received the special services of the program.

Inter-Stimulus Distance Analysis: A second kind of analysis to which the Semantic Differential lends itself involves a comparison of the distance between each pair of stimulus words in three-dimensional semantic space. When the obtained distance between two stimulus words is compared for the administration of the instrument at the beginning of the program with the distance resulting from the administration at the termination of the program, an indication is provided of the extent to which the semantic meaning of the two stimuli became more or less similar for the individual being studied.

Figures 1 and 2 show a graphical representation of the twelve stimulus words based on the mean rating secured for the 53 subjects at the beginning and end of the summer programs, respectively. These figures present in graphical form the same data contained in Table 9. The horizontal dimensions of Figures 1 and 2 represent the active-inactive semantic dimensions of meaning, the depth dimension represent the good-bad semantic dimension, and the vertical dimensions of these figures represent the potent-impotent semantic dimension. It should be noted that the two-dimensional grids shown are located at the "3" position on the potent-impotent dimension rather than at the more logical "4," or midpoint; this was done to eliminate the appearance of any of the lettered points, representing stimulus words, below the picture plane. These two-dimensional representations of three-dimensional semantic space may serve to facilitate visualization of the three dimensions of semantic meaning assumed to exist for this sample throughout the analysis of the Semantic Differential data.

The distance between each of the sixty-six pairs of stimuli in three-dimensional semantic space was computed for each subject both at the beginning and at the end of the program. For each person, a comparison was made to determine whether the distance between the pair of stimuli increased or decreased between the administrations. The numbers of distance increases and decreases were then totaled over the examinees and a simple sign test was applied to the results. It was not appropriate to apply a t test because differences between before-after distances cannot be assumed to be normally distributed.

This analysis revealed fourteen statistically significant changes in distance between pairs of stimuli that occurred during the program. All fourteen of these changes were decreases! This

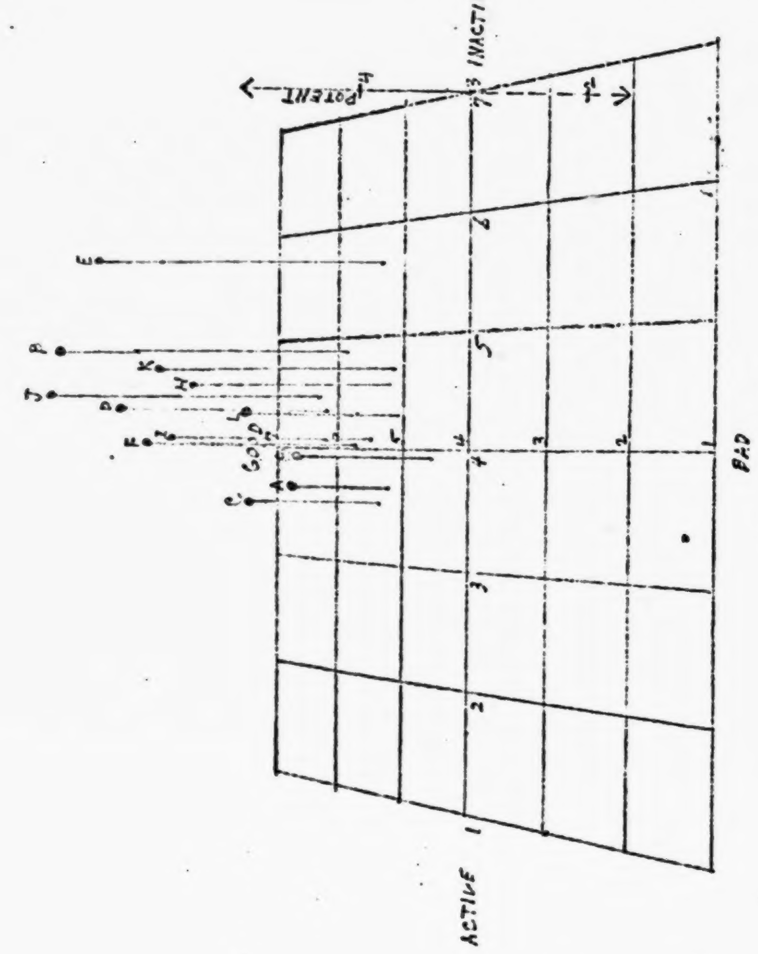

Figure 1

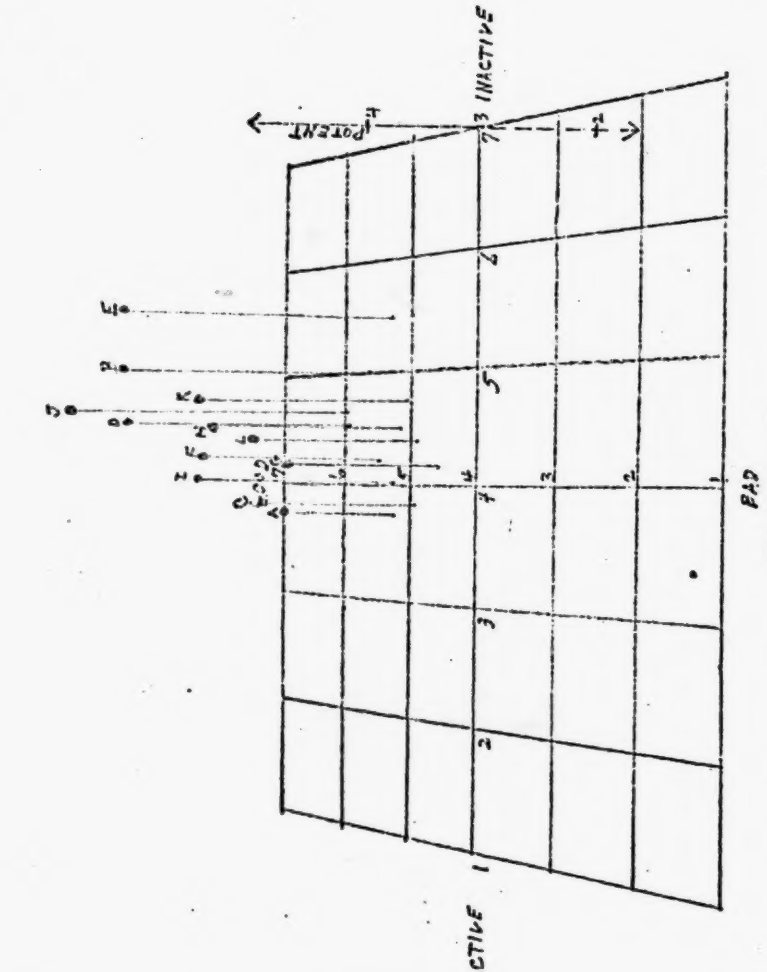

Figure 2

Key

A. Snow
B. College
C. Your Village
D. Love
E. Competition
F. Fishing

G. Yourself
H. Money
I. Native
J. Knowledge
K. Business
L. Caucasians

unexpected result raised the question of the appropriateness of the sign test's use of the expansion of the binomial having the coefficients .50 and .50. When the approximately three thousand students' stimulus pairs of before-after distance changes were summarized, it was found that only 42 per cent of the changes were brought about from stimulus words moving farther apart in semantic space. Approximately 50 per cent had, of course, been expected. This shrinkage of semantic space, as defined by the twelve stimuli used, can be seen in part in Figures 1 and 2. The methodological question which does not appear answerable from the data at hand is whether the statistical test of significance of distance changes should be based on the expansion of the binomial having the coefficients .50 and .50 or the binomial having the coefficients .42 and .58. If the entire semantic space of the subjects had contracted, then the latter would seem appropriate. However, it seemed more plausible that the apparent shrinkage of the semantic space of the subjects was a function only of the stimulus words that were employed. Consequently, the use of the former binomial seemed the more suitable.

Table 10 reports the findings of this analysis. These data appear substantially more encouraging than do those presented in the previous Semantic Differential analysis.

TABLE 10.

Semantic Differential Distance Changes Between Pairs of Stimuli (N = 53)

	Snow	College	Your Village	Competition	Love	Yourself
College	.05					
Love		.05				
Competition			.01		.05	
Yourself		.01	.01	.05	.01	
Native			.01			.01
Knowledge				.05		
Business				.05		
Caucasians			.05	.05		

The decreased distance during COPAN between "snow" and "college" does not appear to lend itself to meaningful interpretation.

The partial convergence of "love" and "competition" may reflect some degree of acquisition of dominant-culture values toward the latter that are quite different from values held by traditional Eskimo culture. However, because of intercultural differences among Alaska natives in competitiveness, this change is rendered more difficult to interpret. It is unfortunate that the sample was too small to support separate analyses for various Alaskan native cultural groups.

The decreased distance between "college" and "love" may reflect an increased perception during the program of college as a more friendly, secure place. The decrease in the distance between "college" and "yourself," significant at the .01 level of confidence, appears to indicate an increased similarity of semantic meaning between self concept and college. This certainly seems to be a highly desirable outcome for a college orientation program.

The greater proximity of "your village" to "competition," "yourself," "native," and "Caucasians" might appear a mixed set of seemingly contradictory findings. However, when interpreted in light of Q-sort findings reported below, it seems reasonable to interpret these changes as reflecting an increased similarity of the semantic meaning of "your village" to the majority race of the dominant culture and to a prominent feature of its culture, competition; this would appear to signify an increased perception of similarity between the subject's home communities and features and members of the dominant culture. At the same time it is gratifying to note that the semantic meaning of "your village" became more congruous with both "yourself" and "native" during the program; this may reflect increased similarity of semantic meaning of the home villages with members of the native cultures. Collectively, these findings appear to indicate that participants may have acquired semantic meanings of their village life which reflected a view of similarity between peoples of different and similar cultural backgrounds compared with their own; that is, these findings may reflect a decreased ethnocentricity.

The decreased distance between "love" and "yourself" appears to be a possible indication of an improved self image. This interpretation is supported by Q-sort findings. Similarily, the greater proximity of "yourself" and "native" after the program than before may be indicative of increased self acceptance. These two findings, both significant at the .01 level of confidence and consistent with both TMAS and Q-sort trends, indicate attainment of the COPAN objective of increasing the personality integration of participants.

The increased proximity of "competition" to "knowledge," "business," and "Caucasians" seem to reflect a possible increased realism of view of these features of the dominant culture. At the same time, the decreased distance between "competition" and "yourself" may signify an increased self-perception of subjects as having this extremely important attribute of western civilization. This interpretation is strongly supported by Q-sort findings reported below.

Semantic Differential Summary: Findings from use of the Semantic Differential during the four-year period are somewhat ambigious. While the findings of before-after dimensional mean changes appeared to predominantly indicate more undesirable than desirable change, the results of the before-after inter-stimulus distance changes were interpreted as predominantly desirable.

This investigator has come increasingly to question the objectivity of his Semantic Differential dimensional interpretations. Many of the objective findings of the dimensional analysis lend themselves about equally well to divergent, contradictory interpretations. It is the writer's opinion that one can read into some of these findings almost anything one is looking for in a study of this nature. The reader is encouraged to critically evaluate the interpretations offered in this section.

An additional limitation of the Semantic Differential for cross-cultural research has very recently come to light. While Osgood, et al. (1957, pp. 170-76) expressed cautious optimism from their cross-cultural use of the Semantic Differential, McNeill (1968) found the factorial structure to differ markedly from one culture to another. Since factor analytic results would be highly unstable for the present sample of only 53 subjects, no alternative exists in the present investigation to the use of the standard scales, or dimensions. However, this presents an additional cause for interpreting the above Semantic Differential findings with considerable caution.

Q-Sort:

The Q-sort described in the COPAN-67 section of this report was utilized during the latter two summers of the program. This technique yielded the two kinds of findings reported below.

Positiveness of Self Concept: In both 1966 and 1967, the scores on the measure of positiveness of self concept increased during the program by a non-significant magnitude. Likewise, the increase in positiveness of self concept for the combined two years' sample did not reach statistical significance. However, the trend indicated by this measure during both summers of its use is highly consistent with the statistically non-significant trend of decreased scores on the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. Moreover, the statistically significant inter-stimulus decreases between "native" and "yourself" and "your village" and between "love" and "yourself" still further reinforces the conclusion that self concept improved during students' exposure to COPAN.

Correlational Analysis: The mean of the twenty-eight students' inter-sort correlations were computed for this two-year summary by the method described in the corresponding section of the COPAN-67 findings. Table 11 reports these findings.

TABLE 11.

Two-Year Summary of Mean r's Between
Q-Sorts Before and After COPAN

Pair of Sorts	Mean r Before	Mean r After	Level of Sign.	C.R.
Real-Ideal	.34	.40	--	1.92
Real-City	.22	.28	.05	2.07
Real-Village	.23	.20	--	.93
Ideal-City	.24	.35	.001	3.59
Ideal-Village	.26	.15	.001	3.53
City-Village	.24	.28	--	1.57

As was noted in the 1967 Q-sort section, the correlation between the sort for real self and the ideal-self sort was greater at the termination of the program than at the beginning. Although his change did not quite reach statistical significance, it is strikingly consistent with findings from the positiveness of self concept, the Semantic Differential, and the Taylor Manifest Anxiety Scale. These diverse kinds of evidence all point to the conclusion that personality integration increased during COPAN.

The change in correlation reported in the bottom row of Table 11, although not statistically significant, is quite interesting. There was an increase in similarity between participants' sorts of the stimulus sentences in the way they believed a typical city youth would sort them and their sorts in the way they thought a typical youth from their home village would sort the cards. This may indicate that subjects came to view native and dominant-culture youth of their respective ages and sexes as being more alike after the experiences of the summer program than they did before. This may indicate an increase in cultural relativism as was suggested by some of the statistically significant changes in Semantic Differential inter-stimulus distance changes during the program.

The middle four rows of Table 11 reveal a highly important trend. The mean correlation of the real-self sorts with the students' sorts representing their perceptions of the way a typical city-dwelling youth would sort the sentences increased during the program at the .05 level of confidence. The mean correlation between the real-self sorts and subjects' perceptions of the way a typical youth from their home village would sort the sentences decreased during the six weeks at a non-significant level. The ideal-self sorts and the typical city-youth sorts increased in correlation at the .001 level of confidence. Finally, the correlation between the ideal-self and typical village-youth sorts decreased during the time interval at the .001 level of confidence. These four changes form an interesting and highly consistent picture signifying that the program's participants grew to perceive their real and ideal selves as less like their perceptions of typical village youth and more like their perceptions of typical city youth--that is, less like their native cultures and more like the dominant culture. Whether this trend was caused by a change in the perceptions of subjects' real and ideal selves, in their perceptions of native and non-native youth, or in a combination of the two, cannot be determined from the above findings. In any case, the trend denotes a highly significant step in the process of acculturation.

In this context, the statistically significant decreases in the Semantic Differential good dimension of "your village" and "native" could be viewed as natural, though not necessarily desirable, consequences of increasing acculturation into the dominant culture. It is encouraging that the decrease in consistency of real-self and ideal-self sorts with village-youth sort are of less magnitude than the increase in consistency of real-self and ideal-self sorts with city-youth sort. This is more evident when the correlation coefficients reported in the middle four rows of Table 11 are squared to provide a measure of the overlap between the two correlated variables. The overlap between the ideal-self and village-youth sorts decreased by five per cent while the overlap between ideal-self and city-youth sorts increased by six per cent. Similarily, the overlap between real-self and village-youth sorts decreased by only one per cent while the overlap between real-self and city-youth sorts increased by three per cent. Hence, it appears that the increased identification with typical dominant-culture youth may have been obtained with a relatively small cost of decreased identification with typical village-youth. The evidence of shift of real and ideal self perception toward the dominant culture and away from the native cultures is particularily noteworthy when it is recognized that it occurred during a six-week period during which time personality integration evidenced improvement.

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SAMPLE COPAN 64-67 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL FORM

SNOW[1]

(check one of the columns below between each pair of adjectives)

Good ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Bad

Strong ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Weak

Fast ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Slow

Pleasant ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Unpleasant

Brave ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Cowardly

Tense ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Relaxed

Likeable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Not Likeable

Hard ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Soft

Excitable ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ Calm

---

[1] Other stimulus words listed on separate sheets included College, Your Village, Love, Competition, Fishing, Yourself, Money, Native, Knowledge, Business, Caucasian.

Speech Attitudes Questionnaire COPAN 64-67

Name ____________________ Home Town ____________, Alaska

School attended last year ____________________

Age ________

11. List the language(s) you can speak ____________________

2. List the language(s) you understand ____________________

3. List the language(s) your father can speak ____________________

4. List the language(s) your father understands ____________________

5. List the language(s) your mother can speak ____________________

6. List the language(s) your mother understands ____________________

7. When you are at home, what language do you speak mostly? ____________

8. When you socialize with your friends outside of school, what language do you speak mostly? ____________________

9. What language is spoken in the store where you trade? ____________

10. What language is spoken in the church you attend? ____________

11. When you have children of your own, someday, would you want them to learn their native language as well as English? ____________ --
If not, why? If so, why?

12. Did you study a foreign language in high school? ____________
If so, which one? ____________

13. When you enter college, would you like to learn another language such as German, French, or Spanish? ____________________
If not, why? If so, which one, and why?

14. Which high school subjects were easiest for you? ____________,
____________, ____________,= ____________

15. Which subjects did you find difficult? ____________,
____________, ____________, ____________

16. Which subjects were the most fun?__________________, ________________,

17. Which subjects bored you?________________, ____________________________

18. What grade in school was the most fun?_________________________________

Why?

19. What is the best book you have ever read?______________________________

20. What sort of books do you enjoy reading outside of school?____________

____

21. What magazines have you read in the past year?________________________

____

22? If you could live anywhere in the world when you grow up, where would you like to live?____

23. What (if any) comic books have you read lately?_______________________

____

24. When you leave school, what would you like to be?_____________________

____

25. Do you have many colds? (more than 3 per year)?________________________

Do you wear glasses?_____________Have you had many earaches?___________

26. What was the best movie you have ever seen?____________________________

27. About how many movies do you see in a month?___________________________

28. Do you enjoy reading aloud?__________________

29. Do you enjoy reading silently?__________________

30. What is your favorite out-of-school summer activity?___________________

Why? (Explain)

31. What are your favorite foods?__________________, _____________________

____________________, ____________________, ____________________________

32. What is your favorite kind of music?___________________________________

33. List five of your favorite songs.__________________, _________________

_________________________, _________________________, __________________

34. Do you play a musical instrument? ______________

If so, which one(s)?______________, ______________________,

35. List some of your favorite recording artists.

____________________________ ____________________________

____________________________ ____________________________

____________________________ ____________________________